

TOP STORY: THE POLITICS OF GANG PEACE

November 15 - 28, 1993

In THESE TIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

WE ARM THE WORLD

David Evans, a Reagan-era
Pentagon official,
says it's time for
a new policy

page 14

\$2.50 / CANADA \$3.00

66666



0 000000 0

46

EDITORIAL

AMERICA'S SCHOOL OF DEMOCRACY KILLERS

Just as American foreign arms sales have helped destabilize the Third World, so, too, has U.S. training of vicious assassins and death squad leaders perpetuated poverty and the rule of corrupt oligarchies in Latin America. And like arms sales, the training of Latin American military leaders in their deadly craft is still being done. Each year, some 2,000 military personnel attend the School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Ga., to be trained in the art of low-intensity combat—a code word for brutalization and terror—against the people of their respective countries.

The list of butchers trained at the school is long. It includes 19 of the 26 officers cited by the U.N. Truth Commission Report on El Salvador as responsible for the massacre of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her 16-year-old daughter in 1989. And it includes scores of other Salvadoran officers who carried out massacres of unarmed civilians from 1980 to last month—including Roberto D'Aubuisson, the death squad founder who ordered Archbishop Romero's assassination.

Graduates from other countries include Panama's Manuel Noriega; Bolivia's Gen. Hugo Banzer Suarez, dictator of that country from 1971-78 and creator of a plan for repression that became a blueprint for savage rulers throughout the region; and former Honduran Army chief of staff Gen. Humberto Regaldo, an accomplice of Colombian drug dealers.

Unobtrusively placed in Panama when it was created in 1946, the School of the Americas was forced to relocate to Fort Benning under terms of the Panama Canal Treaty in 1984. At the time, the Panamanian newspaper *La Prensa* dubbed it "The School of Assassins," and then-President Jorge Illueca called it "the biggest base for destabilization in Latin America."

In Georgia, it has been the site of protests by Maryknoll priest Roy Bourgeois and others, and in late September Rep. Joe Kennedy (D-MA) proposed an amendment to the 1994 Defense Appropriation bill that would shut it down.

Speaking in favor of the amendment, which was defeated by a vote of 174 to 256, Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA) said

that the School of the Americas has "the nefarious distinction of being the place where the worst human rights abusers in the Western Hemisphere come to learn and to teach." Rep. Thomas Barrett (D-WI) called the school "an academy of torture and a school for dictators," and urged "an end to a sad chapter in our nation's history."

Rep. John Lewis, who along with Rep. Cynthia McKinney was alone among Georgia House members in supporting Kennedy's amendment, asked why we should "continue to fund and condone military-inspired murder" and "to train thugs to kill their own people."

Those opposing Kennedy's amendment argued that there are bad apples in every barrel. Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) recalled that one of the 12 apostles went bad. "Does that mean that the rest went bad?" he asked. And Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) insisted that the School's past abuses have no relevance today. "From Argentina to Guatemala coups are being resisted. ... Democracy is being respected," he said.

But the United States is now enmeshed in the aftermath of a coup against a democratically elected government in Haiti, one in which many of the leading instigators are graduates of the School of the Americas—as well as long-time CIA assets.

As Rep. Torricelli told the *New York Times*, "The U.S. government develops relationships with ambitious and bright young men at the beginning of their careers and then follows them through their public service." Such was apparently the case with Maj. Joseph-Michel Francois, 34, who spent a year at Fort Benning, and who rose to be Haiti's police chief immediately after the coup two years ago. And perhaps his relationship with the CIA is why Francois "appeared unimpressed by vows of [U.S.] support for Mr. Aristide" when he was interviewed by the *Atlanta Journal* shortly after the coup.

The close ties between these men and the CIA, which recruited them when they attended the School of the Americas, were expressed by the CIA's Brian Latell in a widely circulated 1992 report. He then described Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras, Haiti's current dictator, as one among "the most promising group of Haitian leaders to emerge since the Duvalier family dictatorship was overthrown in 1986."

It was Latell who late last month told members of Congress that according to his sources, Aristide is "unstable" and has a "history of mental problems."

Perhaps the Clinton administration is serious about a new world order. If so, the habitual support for all the most oppressive governments and classes in Latin America must end. Dismantling key institutions of this oppression like the School of the Americas would be an important first step. ◀
For information on the School of the Americas, write S.O.A. Watch, P.O. Box 3330, Columbus, GA 31903.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein

Managing Editor: Miles Harvey

Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide,

David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil

Asst. Managing Editor/Books Editor:

David Futrelle

In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss

European Editor: Diana Johnstone

New York Editor: Daniel Lazare

Education Editor: Alex Molnar

Contributing Editors: Peter Karman,

Ilan Stavans, Jim McNeill

Washington Correspondents:

John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis

Eastern Europe Correspondent:

Paul Hockenos

Far East Correspondent: Dave Lindorff

Film Critics: Pat Dowell, Patricia Aufderheide

Copy Editor: George Hodak

Type: Jim Rinnert

Editorial Interns: Susan Kimmelman,

Beate Sissenich, Jake Blankenship

Art Director: Peter Hannan

Associate Art Director: Lisa Weinstein

Asst. Art Director/Photographer: David Schulz

Cartoonist: Terry LaBan

Publisher: James Weinstein

Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman

Business Manager: Robert Larson

Circulation Director: Etelka Lehoczky

Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey

Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Postmaster: Greg Kilbane

(ISSN 0160-5992)

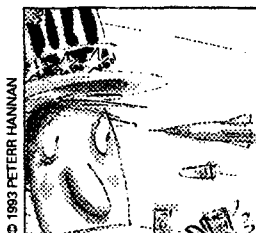
Published 26 times a year by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. Member: Alternative Press Syndicate. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1993 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For customer service and to place subscription orders, call toll free: (800) 827-0270. Advertising rates sent on request. Available back issues are \$5 each; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 17, No. 26) published November 15, 1993, for newsstand sales November 15 - 28, 1993.



InTHESE TIMES

CONTENTS

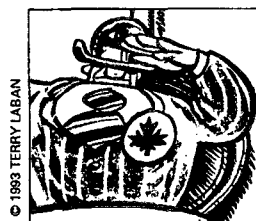
Volume 17, Number 26



© 1993 PETER HANNAN



© 1993 DAVID SCHULZ



© 1993 TERRY LABAN

We arm the world

Why the U.S. should abandon its military economy.

DAVID EVANS

14

Gangbanging for peace

National gang leaders and politicians search for solutions.

SALIM MUWAKKIL

22

Canada's move to the middle

How the Conservative Party killed itself.

DOUG SMITH

24

FEATURES

- First Stone: More October surprises • Joel Bleifuss.....12
 Unions look for new ways to strike back • David Moberg..... 19
 Education: No national curriculum • Michael W. Apple26
 Viewpoint: Political exhaustion in Eastern Europe • John Feffer.....28

REVIEWS

- Film: Inside *The War Room* • Pat Dowell.....30
 Books: Puerto Ricans in *Spidertown* • Ilan Stavans.....32
 The conquest of modern-day Guatemala • Erich Hahn.....34

DEPARTMENTS

- Letters.....4
 Sylvia • Nicole Hollander4
 In Short.....6
 Appall-O-Meter • Woody Igou.....6
 Media Beat • Pat Aufderheide.....8
 Rough Cuts • J.A. Reid.....9
 In Person • Susan Kimmelman.....10
 Etc. • Miles Harvey.....10
 Huge Mouth • Peter Hannan.....13
 Classifieds.....37

LETTERS

Soulless international capitalism

Concerning John B. Judis' "Hard trade-offs" (*ITT*, Oct. 4), the true issue regarding NAFTA is not jobs or side agreements but democracy. NAFTA is an orchestrated move by the multinational corporations to increase their power at the expense of democracy. The multinationals want to further emasculate national, state and local governments so they can deal with weak international bodies, whose members are essentially the bedfellows of the transnational chiefs. NAFTA has little to do with jobs and everything to do with power. The international agreements (NAFTA and GATT) are designed to supersede national, state and local regulations on such matters as environmental issues, worker safety and health, workers'

rights to bargain and strike, etc.

The German constitutional court may have approved the Maastricht Treaty, but the move by some more insightful Germans to put the treaty to a national referendum shows a more correct understanding of the issue. Likewise, we should put NAFTA to a national referendum. Of course, many of our economic and political "leaders" would oppose this, committed as they are to backscratching the multinationals, their campaign contributors, and stuffing NAFTA down the public's throat.

As the multinationals free themselves from national and local regulation, they will also be ever freer to define jobs as abstract blanks to be filled in by mobile workers in an international economy where all jobs are filled by migrant workers, all working for multinationals, corporate entities completely divorced from social responsibility.

Ironically, the real threat to democracy in the 20th and 21st centuries turns out to be soulless international capitalism, not godless international communism.

Ted Flickinger
Claysville, Pa.

Too optimistic?

In These Times jumps a little too quickly to herald the recent electoral success of the reform communist Democratic Left Alliance (DLA) in Poland as a victory for the left or social democracy.

The Polish vote indeed represented a rejection of the pace and consequences of economic reform (by about a third of the voters), the shock therapy measures that Polish liberals and Western analysts have trumpeted as the success story of Eastern Europe. The election also dealt a deserved blow to the nationalist-Catholic parties, which failed to win a single seat.

In my opinion, however, the turnout for the former communist parties was more of a protest vote than an authentic shift to the left or an expression of support for a modern vision of socialism. The DLA invoked a leftist populism that played very effectively to a mixture of nostalgia, disappointment and frustration in a substantial part of the Polish electorate. This kind of populism—to which, in different forms, the Poles have shown them-

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



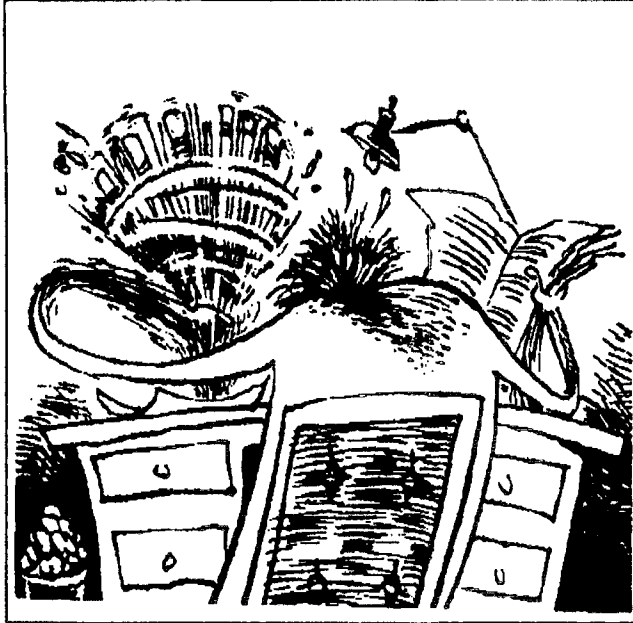
seives particularly susceptible—is something that the liberals and the right will also call upon now that they are in opposition.

I think I am a bit more skeptical than *In These Times* about the nature of reform communist parties in Eastern Europe. Though they urge a “slowing down” of market reforms or market systems with a “more human face,” their own programs are often vague and demagogic. They have no progressive vision of socialism or social democracy, if one can even term them progressive.

Although not in Poland or Hungary, many of the former communist parties are deeply nationalist and find their closest allies in the camps of the extreme right. Even in the best of cases, their ranks are still full of the same personnel that served the ancien regimes so loyally. And although they often include some genuine, committed reformers in their leaderships, most of them are unable to divorce themselves from the essential values and mentality that guided their actions (or inactions) for decades. Their mission is to recapture power, not to reinvent socialism.

The real left-wing victor of the Polish election was Unia Pracy (UP), the Union of Labor Party. UP is an independent, non-communist, social democratic party made up of former Solidarity leftists, intellectuals and progressive labor unionists. UP, which received only 2 percent of the vote in 1991, won 7 percent this time around, landing it 41 seats in the Sejm. A similar party has recently consolidated in Hungary and stands a decent shot at making it into parliament in 1994.

Socialism can have a future in Central and Eastern Europe only if it breaks definitively with the legacy and culture of communism. A progressive left must not, as *In These Times* put it, try to “rescue the socialist content in communism,” but rather it must build



it anew, painstakingly, from below. This is a project that will take more than four years.

Paul Hockenos
Berlin

Editor's note: We wrote that "it appears that the new left in Poland has successfully begun the process of separating socialist ideas from communism." Without disagreeing with what Paul Hockenos writes, we believe this to be true.

Slaughtered cowburgers

I am wondering what the editor of the Appall-O-Meter (*ITT*, Oct. 4) found “stupid, noxious or ludicrous” about the notation of “grilled, harpooned ... swordfish” on a dinner menu. It is only because we have been systematically desensitized to animal suffering that we continue to follow a carnivorous diet that is the No. 1 cause of heart disease, hypertension and a slew of other health problems. Perhaps if all menus described the origin of the meat, fish and poultry we consume, we would finally acknowledge that meat does not grow in hamburger patches.

Jennifer O'Connor
El Paso, Texas

Back in the saddle—again

Pat Aufderheide is incorrect in her assertion in *Media Beat* (*ITT*, Oct. 18) that “networks have always chosen television shows with a shrewd eye to demographic appeal.”

In the beginning of broadcasting, advertisers controlled the content of programs. Proctor & Gamble gave us soap operas, a term derived from the popular “horse opera” westerns on radio. The networks simply sold blocks of time to the advertisers.

When the movie studios began taking television seriously, in the '50s, they developed programs that could be sold either to the advertiser (“G.E. Theater,” which gave us Ronald Reagan, “Chrysler Theater” et al.) or to the network.

As the network universe expanded, the networks demanded increasingly greater control of program elements, not, as Aufderheide suggests, because of demographic appeal to advertisers but rather because programming was seen in the context of audience “flow,” i.e., the ability to use the demographics of a given program to promote other programs on the network schedule with similar appeal.

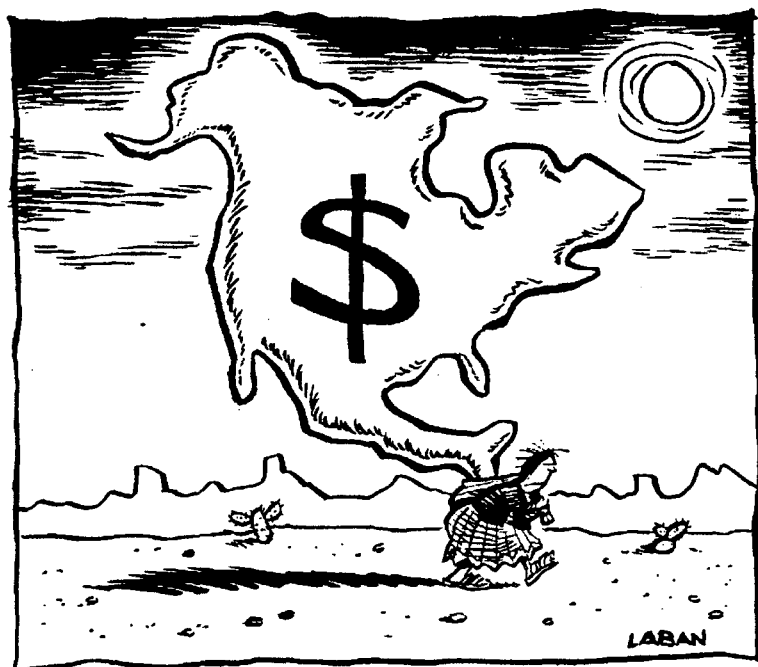
Now, with the network universe shrinking, programmers are forced to settle for limited demographics and niche programming, Fox TV being the most obvious example.

If advertisers are now back “in the driver’s seat in program design,” it’s just another example of a television cycle coming around full circle.

Phil DeGuere
San Francisco

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you wished to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

INSHORT



©1993 TERRY LABAN

BAD BENEFITS

Mexico's women workers and NAFTA

There is an overlooked irony in the debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). While Ross Perot and some unionists link free trade with the decline of the "family wage"—

which, however mythical, was always a male entitlement—the main "beneficiaries" of NAFTA-generated jobs in Mexico would be women.

That Mexican women would profit from this increased labor demand is, however, doubtful at best. The experience of Mexican workers in U.S.-owned *maquiladoras*, or assembly plants, resembles some of the worst scenarios from the early Industrial Revolution, including horrendous health hazards.

As for wages, it is said that "they," like illegal immigrants in the United States, will "accept" pennies a day for their toil. What is usually not said is that "they" are 70 to 80 percent women. Although NAFTA is a women's issue, gender has been strikingly absent from discussions of the trade pact in this country, even in left forums. As a result, few in the United States are



By Woody Igou

Base, base, baseball

Former U.S. Labor Secretary Lynn Martin was among the candidates interviewed in baseball's year-long search for a commissioner. But the



true intentions of the owners were relayed by a National League owner

who asked to remain anonymous: "All the male chauvinists out there can relax. Her interview was window-dressing. There is no way we're going to allow a woman to tell us what to do."

Better go back to your little clubhouse and wash off those cooties, big boy.

A big picture becomes the big picture

A new study by Stanford professor Byron Reeves found that, under controlled cir-



cumstances, people who watched a candidate on a larger television screen

were more likely to "connect" with the politician and the politician's ideas than those who watched the politician on a smaller television set. *No wonder Pat Buchanan's head creates such ... interest.*

Passing the torch, downward

Don Cornelius, the well-known host of the long-running TV dance show *Soul Train*, is retiring



Train, is retiring after 22 years. He described his reason for retiring by noting that, "We

just came to the conclusion that at least part of the era of the Dick Clark, Don Cornelius kind of guy with a suit and tie and speaking really good English is kind of over." Evidently.

Babel virus spreading

The *New York Times* reports that tens of thousands of young Chinese in Hong Kong



are taking English names to give the appearance of sophistication. Hong Kong psycholo-

gist Cathy Tsang-Feign explains that even those who "speak little or no English" are caught up in the trend. Names already chosen include: Cinderella, Neon, Civic, Open, Onion and Creamy. More misguided attempts include Hitler Wong and Jackal Chang.

It is surreal to imagine a Chinese dissident in 1999 being tortured by Nurture Chung and Oatmeal Chan.

APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Weightless banality
2. Green Acres stupid
3. Malicious cretinism
4. Howard Sternesque
5. Mary Matalin mean
6. Gangrenous venality
7. A touch of evil
8. A cancer in the Zeitgeist
9. Pot to, Pol Pot?
10. Horseperson of the Apocalypse

aware that women in the *maquila* zone are fighting for their communities and their rights as workers, or that in Canada a national women's coalition is at the forefront of the anti-free-trade campaign. And few know that working women from Canada, Mexico and the United States are increasingly working together to address the issue of economic integration in spite of what might appear to be opposing interests.

Yet the silence of national women's organizations in this country—the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, neither of which have taken a stand on NAFTA—has allowed questions on the impact of worldwide economic developments on women's lives to remain unasked.

"Economic integration," "capital mobility" and "the global economy" are simply catch-phrases that describe the corporate strategy of locating or subcontracting low-skill, labor-intensive aspects of production in places where conditions are "favorable"—meaning cheap and non-unionized—while keeping skilled work and management in the country of ownership. Because women in "developing" countries are thought to be more docile and to require less in terms of wages and working conditions than men, they are usually the ones hired by *maquiladoras* to build microchips or sew clothes.

"Women are at the front lines of the internationalization of the economy, and they are suffering the most," says Phoebe McKinney, director of the Maquila Project for the American Friends Service Committee. American jobs that relocated in the '80s to Haiti, East Asia and Mexico were, as McKinney says, "sub-assembly, low-tech, repetitive, high speed and boring." Like the mill girls of 19th-century New England, young women in these countries supposedly have "nimble fingers" and endless reserves of patience that suit them particularly well for this kind of work. (So much so, in fact, that when factories left the United States, production quotas went up while wages went down.)

According to McKinney, the average employee at a *maquiladora* is 18 years old and has a sixth-grade education. She earns 73 cents per hour in take-home pay and works 10- to 12-hour shifts. In spite of the overall lower cost of living in Mexico, prices are much the same in the *maquila* zone as over the border in El Paso, Texas. Violations of health and safety standards are routine in the *maquiladoras* and undoubtedly result in long-term health problems. The electrical industry, for example, uses solvents considered extremely hazardous to women of childbearing years.

Several organizations, including the Maquila Project, provide support for women fighting for better conditions in the *maquila* zone. But organizing is hard. Women are sometimes harassed merely for speaking to a boss in what he deems to be the wrong tone of voice. And they are sometimes dismissed or punished for being pregnant, since companies are reluctant to pay Mexico's required maternity leave.

The key to bringing an end to these practices is solidarity, says Carmen Ibarra-Dominguez, coordinator of *La Mujer Obrera*, which was founded by garment workers, mostly Mexican immigrants, following a strike in which many large shops left El Paso for the *maquila* zone. Ibarra-Dominguez predicts that 10,000 more jobs will flee El Paso if the trade agreement is passed. "We expect NAFTA is going to be a disaster for us," she says.

Mujer a Mujer, a women's group founded in 1984 in Mexico City, runs exchanges in which women from the United States and Canada share skills

and ideas with their Mexican counterparts. At a conference in Canada, Mexican women testified to a declining quality of life in the *maquila* zone that sounded uncannily familiar to their northern neighbors: more muggings and rapes, heightened domestic violence, alcoholism among unemployed men and youth involvement in drugs and gangs.

Reports like these, detailing the disintegration of women's daily lives in the *maquila* zone, should resonate for many women in Canada and the United States. We may learn all too well, if NAFTA is passed, just how badly unregulated global trade hurts society by perpetuating the economic inequality of women.

—Kate Lebow

SHELL GAME

Laws and promises haven't stopped turtle slaughter in Mexico

promises and then breaking them.

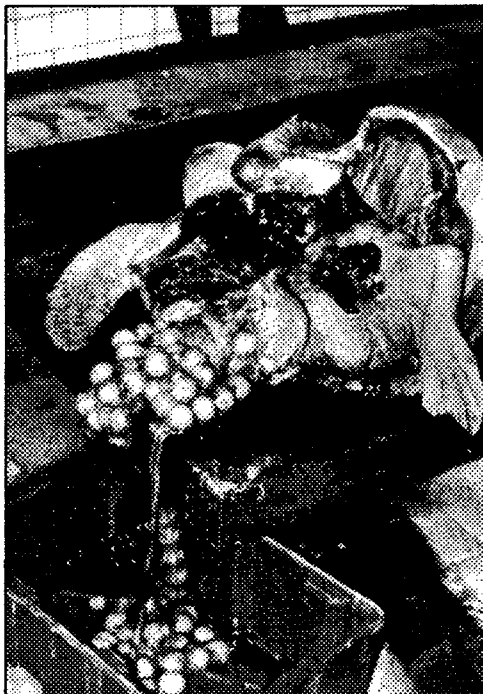
Five of the world's seven species of sea turtle nest on Mexican beaches. All five are listed as endangered or threatened under the U.S. Endangered Species Act. And all too often on those beaches the turtles die, victims of a poaching economy that places a high price on their skin, shells, meat and eggs—an economy underwritten by Mexican government inaction. In 1990 and 1991 Salinas, responding to international pressure, took measures to protect the world's sea turtles, closing a turtle slaughterhouse in Oaxaca and then signing the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species.

Some environmentalists, however, fear that Salinas acted not to protect turtles but to "green wash" Mexico's image and prepare a more fertile environment for the negotiation and passage of NAFTA.

Todd Steiner, of the Sea Turtle Restoration Project at the Earth Island Institute in San Francisco, voiced these concerns in a letter he handed to Salinas during a meeting with the Mexican president in September.

Steiner noted that in April and May, Mexican shrimpers illegally entered a sea turtle reserve and in the process of catching shrimp killed 11 female Kemp's ridley turtles. (There are only 400 to 700 such turtles left in the world.) The deaths were witnessed by Mexican and U.S. biologists. The Mexican government, however, took no action and officials later claimed that

The new-and-improved North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) will protect the environment—Mexican President Carlos Salinas has given his word. And that is the problem. Salinas has a history of making environmental



EARTH ISLAND INSTITUTE

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Strange bedfellows

Congressional proposals to address violence on television have nearly driven media public-interest advocates into the arms of their usual enemy—the TV industry. At a Senate hearing in late October, both American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Robert Peck and Peggy Charren, founder of Action for Children's Television (ACT), were found shaking their heads in alarm at proposed legislation.

Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-SC) had proposed to ban violence on TV during prime time and during other hours children might watch; other lawmakers proposed schemes that included a movie-style ratings plan. At the hearing, Attorney General Janet Reno soberly judged the proposals constitutional. Reno recommended voluntary industry action instead of legislation. But she hedged once Hollings reminded her that TV execs had begun promising action 27 years ago.

Violence on television is a tough issue for First Amendment-minded legislators—who wants to be for it? But public-interest advocates wonder how the Senate intends to define violence, and point to the dangers of precedent-setting when government dictates content-controls in media. Even politically agile acting Federal Communications Commission (FCC) head James Quello was careful to request that Congress at least define violence before handing the FCC the job of implementing legislation.

And after Sen. Conrad Burns (R-MT), disagreed with Hollings on the violence quotient of a clip from the come-

dy show *Love and War*, industry people were jubilant at this proof of the difficulty with definition. "If Congress really wants to act on TV that kids see," said Peggy Charren, "then they must make sure that the FCC says that the Children's TV Act of 1990 is talking about an hour a day of educational programming, not a half-hour a week." The terms of the children's TV law, which Charren midwived, are still being disputed by the industry. She also wants to see legislation that prohibits promos for later violent shows and ads that feature violence during kids' programs. At the Center for Media Education, which inherited the now-defunct ACT's mandate, Kathryn Montgomery said, "We would always rather see the solution be more quality children's programming rather than take something off the air."

No news please, we're German

The latest flap in the ethically impaired magazine business was precipitated by Mercedes-Benz. Apparently concerned about a slide in business, in August it circulated a letter to 30 magazines in which it advertised. The letter declared that it would yank advertising from magazines carrying negative stories about anything German. Fully half the magazines agreed not to run such stories, before public furor caused the car company to back down.

© 1993 Pat Aufderheide

the turtles died from cancer.

Earlier in the year, the Mexican government promised the United States that turtle-excluder devices would be installed on its entire shrimping fleet by April 1—after failing to honor a previous promise that all boats would be so outfitted by December 1992.

Further, Steiner told the Mexican president that two important turtle nesting beaches are being developed despite prior promises from the Mexican government to officially designate them as protected sea turtle reserves.

Steiner also explained that a reorganization of the Mexican agencies responsible for protecting the turtles led to a breakdown in what had previously been accomplished. In 1992, turtle protection camps were abandoned, dramatically increasing the slaughter of turtles and illegal harvesting of eggs. Some 200-300 turtles were killed on the beaches of Baja California—and the Mexican authorities did nothing. The rape and torture of two Mexican sea turtle biologists by sea turtle poachers has gone unpunished, despite the fact that their names are known by the Mexican government. (See *In These Times* May 3, 1993.)

Does anybody care? The danger posed to the world's sea turtles has not been picked up by the U.S. media. And Mexico has apparently gone back to its old ways, allowing the sea turtle slaughter to continue.

In defense of NAFTA, the Clinton administration and its allies in the environmental community say that the environmental side agreement will help protect the turtles. But NAFTA contains a regulatory loophole in its "extra-jurisdictional process standards," which allows the slaughter to continue. For example, these standards would not allow the United States to ban the import of Mexican shrimp that is caught in a manner that kills sea turtles. Regulations that ban the import of tuna that is caught in a manner that kills dolphins would be, under NAFTA, similarly prohibited. Although laws banning such imports are already on the books, the Clinton administration has not enforced the one that protects endangered sea turtles out of deference to America's good friend and trade partner President Salinas.

—Joel Bleifuss

ROUGH CUTS

By JA Reid



ETC.

By Miles Harvey

Big waste

Brother, can you spare \$17 billion? That's the amount American businesses and consumers would have saved in 1991 if the U.S. commercial health insurance industry had been as efficient as Canada's government-run system. A new study by Citizens Fund, an affiliate of the nationwide consumer group Citizen Action, presents ample evidence of the advantages of a single-payer health plan. The study shows that it costs commercial insurance companies 40 times more to deliver health care benefits than it would cost Canada's national health system to administer the same amount of benefits. The study also found that between 1981 and 1991, the per-dollar amount private insurance companies spent on administration, marketing and overhead rose by 19 percent.

The commercial health insurance industry also fared poorly against the U.S. government-administered Medicare program. While industry administrative costs have soared in the past decade, the administrative cost per dollar of Medicare declined. And in 1991, it cost the insurance companies 17 times more to deliver health care benefits than if those benefits had been administered by Medicare.

Big talk

In case you thought Hillary Rodham Clinton's recent attacks on the "insurance industry" indicate that the administration is warming to



THE FIGHTER

Lawyer Joe McCray battles at the bar

Joe McCray is a successful plaintiff's attorney who describes himself as a theoretical Marxist and sometime bar-room brawler. Over the years, he's won some big cases and broken a few bones. "I'm not afraid

to go to my hands. It's because I came up the way I came up. It's offensive to more middle-class people," he says. "Beats the hell out of a gun though."

McCray "came up" in Montana, one of three children; his mother and father were both functionally illiterate. His father, with whom he never got along, worked as a blacksmith, then a machinist. He wasn't around much.

a single-payer plan, read the *fine print*. In condemning industry-financed TV ads, the first lady declared, "It's time for every American to stand up and say to the insurance industry: 'Enough is enough. We want our health system back.'" Trouble is, Clinton wasn't talking about the *whole* industry. Her diatribe was only aimed at the Health Insurance Association of America, which represents the small- and medium-sized insurance companies. And the White House plan will probably put those smaller firms out of business. Far from "taking back" the health system, the administration is planning to hand it over to the industry's biggest firms. Enough is enough, Hillary.

Big double-standard

What made Hillary Rodham Clinton so angry in the first place were ads run mostly on cable television and paid for by an industry-created group called Coalition for Health Insurance Choices. The first lady characterized the ads as "great lies." And she's right: they do significantly misrepresent the administration's health proposal. But that hasn't stopped TV outlets from running them. Not long ago Neighbor to Neighbor, a pro-single-payer group, also tried running TV ads. (See "Etc.," June 24, 1993.) The statistics cited in the ads came from government studies. Nonetheless, many stations declined to air them—on the grounds that they lacked factual substantiation. What Neighbor to Neighbor really lacked, of course, was corporate sponsorship.

"He was a drunk," says McCray, "but not an alcoholic."

McCray's grandfather was a miner, a Wobbly. Says McCray, "If you're poor Irish in the mountains, you're not going to grow up a Republican, or even a Democrat." That did not hold true for McCray's brother who is—"I hate to say it"—a mortgage broker in Vancouver. He left Montana for San Francisco, the first city he ever lived in and where he plans to die. "It's made a place for me," he says. "Where else would I find a place? I'm not going to be a rancher, I'll tell you that."

By his own account, McCray went to law school "by default." He was recruited out of college to be an investigator for the National Labor Relations Board, where at the time there was still a significant Wobbly influence. Eventually McCray's mentor, Tommy Graham, convinced McCray that he'd better go to law school, which he did, at night, working as a longshoreman during the day. He also put in a stint as assistant to the late International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union president Harry Bridges, a man McCray calls "the conscience of the labor movement."

As an attorney, McCray's specialty has been civil rights cases and product liability, the latter of which he got into by way of crane and meat-saw accidents.

McCray works alone. He tried partnerships, twice, but they didn't work out. "People just don't understand how much work there is," he says. McCray has done about 76 jury trials and now he says he's got it down to where he can manage within a 50- to 60-hour week.

McCray is best known as a pioneer in the GM exploding gas tank litigation. (See "In Short," June 14, 1993.) In the 1983 case *Adams/Esparza vs. GM*, he won by discovering that GM had doctored a car that it used in a test crash film, which had been introduced without warning in the middle of the trial.

Ten years later, when *Dateline NBC* issued its prime-time apology for its failure to disclose the use of incendiary devices in a report on the dangers of GM's outside-the-frame fuel tanks, McCray wrote an impassioned letter to NBC News head Michael Gartner. Convinced that NBC had accurately demonstrated that the side-saddle gas tank was an unacceptably dangerous defect, McCray detailed his own personal experience with GM's own crash-test rigging and implored Gartner and NBC not to back down.

He was not surprised when Gartner did not answer. "The good journalists are eaten alive," he says. The mediocre survive, frightened and suffering from the same malaise as corporate minions, a general failure of accountability.

Despite his grim perspective on current reality, and particularly on corporate America, McCray is a remarkable optimist when it comes to the future. As a theoretical socialist he is neither depressed nor dissuaded by the fate of the Soviet Union, since he always thought it was a "piss-poor representative" of socialism. "Capitalism," says McCray, "always gets to the point where it cannot create a society free of want." Ultimately, therefore, socialism will evolve. Not only that, but according to McCray the "best, true" socialism in history will evolve right here in the United States.

While he waits for that day, he keeps in fighting shape, spending some time at the gym doing "some shit with weights." He hates it but says, "Trial practice is a physical undertaking. You see these old guys, they just can't do it any more. The body goes, the mind goes."

—Susan Kimmelman

THE FIRST STONE

Talking treason

By Joel Bleifuss

Alexandre deMarenches, a former head of French intelligence, has claimed that in October 1980 he arranged a meeting in Paris between Reagan-Bush campaign manager William Casey and Iranian officials. This news comes from David Andelman, a former CBS News correspondent, who helped the French spymaster prepare the English version of his autobiography, *The Fourth World War*.

DeMarenches, however, did not put that story in his autobiography. "There are two sorts of history," deMarenches writes. "There is the history we see and hear, the official history; and there is the secret history—the things that happen behind the scenes, in the dark, that go bump in the night."

In 1990, the PBS documentary program *Frontline* hired Robert Parry, a former *Newsweek* reporter, to look behind the scenes into the October Surprise. *Frontline* wanted some questions answered. Did 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign officials conspire with Iran? Did Iran, in exchange for the promise of arms from a Reagan administration, agree to hold the 52 hostages until after the election in order to ensure that President Jimmy Carter would be denied the political benefit of a pre-election hostage release?

Trick or Treason: The October Surprise Mystery, released this month by Sheridan Square Press, grew out of Parry's *Frontline* investigation. In this engagingly personal journey into the October Surprise mystery, Parry sorts through the evidence and examines the witnesses. In his search to discover what would drive patriotic Americans to conspire with terrorists in pursuit of their own good fortune, Parry also exposes a dark side of the human condition.

Of his meeting with Alexander Haig, Reagan's first secretary of state, Parry writes, "Haig looked like he had been sent from central casting for a movie role as a retired gener-

al. He had silver hair and rugged good looks, a trim build, and a clipped way of talking that often ended in a tense smile. His tightly wound personality could be unnerving, as it was to the nation when he declared after the 1981 assassination attempt on President Reagan that he, Haig, was 'in charge' at the White House. Sometimes he got a peculiar Strangelovian look in his eye."

At one point in the conversation Haig told Parry, "If Bill Casey could have worked out a deal [with Iran] which would have opened a lot of doors promptly in the event that President Reagan was elected, I don't consider that either wrong, morally or practically. That's the American system and it ain't very savory sometimes, but it's nonetheless better than most." Haig rounded off that statement with "a good-natured laugh," Parry writes.

Parry then asked Haig whether the Israeli government had lied to him about the shipments of U.S. arms that Israel began sending Iran soon after Reagan was sworn in as president. Haig responded, "Come on. Jesus! God! You know, you'd better get out and read Machiavelli or somebody else because I think you're living in a dream world. People do what their national interest tells them to do."

In 1953, Miles Copeland helped overthrow Iran's elected Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. In his autobiography, Copeland grandly describes himself as "the CIA's original political operative." Parry sought out Copeland to see if this political operative could shed any light on allegations that elements in the CIA might have been involved in back-door deals to prevent Carter from winning the release of the hostages. After all, in 1980, Copeland had headed an informal political support group, "Spooks for Bush."

Although Copeland dodged questions about the October Surprise, he did say, "The intelligence community certainly had some understanding with somebody in Iran in authority. ... At that time we had word back—because you always have informal relations with the devil—we had word that, 'Don't worry. As long as Carter wouldn't get credit for getting these people out, as soon as Reagan came in, the Iranians would be happy enough to to wash their hands of this and move into a new era of Iranian-American relations, whatever that turned out to be.'" Copeland said that these devilish relations were consummated by "the CIA within the CIA"—intelligence community insiders who according to Copeland knew what had to be done for the good of the country.

One person who in Copeland's opinion didn't know what was good for America was President Carter. Carter had criticized the shah's institutionalized use of torture, imprisonment and assassination—Pahlavi proclivities long-sanctioned

by Washington's realpolitickers. Parry writes that an incredulous Copeland, "shaking his head from side to side in dismay and disbelief," told him, "Carter really believed in all the principles that we talk about in the West."

Hot on the trail of the Machiavellian spirit, Parry encountered former Reagan-Bush campaign official Richard Allen. Parry writes, "[W]e asked him to start off with a routine statement that he had consented to a filmed interview for a *Frontline* documentary. Unsmiling, Allen said into the camera, 'I know that I'm being filmed by WGBH *Frontline*, a.k.a Radio Moscow or Television Moscow East.'"

Allen was half joking, whole earnest. A couple years later, *Frontline* was vilified by Republicans in Congress for doing what no other mainstream media outlet had the guts to do, buck the conventional wisdom that the October Surprise was not worth investigating.

As far as the media was concerned, the October Surprise allegations were officially laid to rest last January by the House October Surprise Task Force report on the scandal. (See "The First Stone" Feb. 8, Feb. 22 and March 8.) To Parry's credit, he thoroughly exposes the incongruities in this official final word. Like a Gruyère cheese, the task force report is solid on the outside and full of holes on the inside—particularly when House investigators cook the evidence in an attempt to provide an alibi for the whereabouts of William Casey.

An unbiased reader cannot take Parry's book in one hand and the House report in the other and fail to conclude that some sort of deal was made in 1980. But Washington's crackpot realists have no interest in exhuming the dirty history of 1980. As Parry notes, and as the Clinton-Gore theme song puts it, the powers that be are "thinking about tomorrow." And that is where the tragedy lies. Tomorrow is just an extension of yesterday.

In the most moving passage in the book, Parry recounts a 1992 conversation with Spencer Oliver, the counsel for the House Foreign Relations committee who, under fierce attack from the Republicans, was prohibited from serving on the task force by task force chair Lee Hamilton (D-IN). Twenty years earlier, in 1972, Oliver's phone was one of those at the Democratic National Committee that the Republicans had chosen to bug.

As Oliver told Parry: "When corruption reaches the highest precincts of government, the protection mechanisms for the people who inhabit those precincts are so powerful that they are almost impenetrable. What we saw in

Watergate and what we saw in Iran-contra and what we saw in October Surprise—we saw these defense mechanisms used to discredit honest politicians and honest journalists. ...

"Watergate was the most devastating blow that any political party has suffered in modern history. The president was driven out of office. The Republicans were repudiated at the polls. They took enormous losses in Congress.

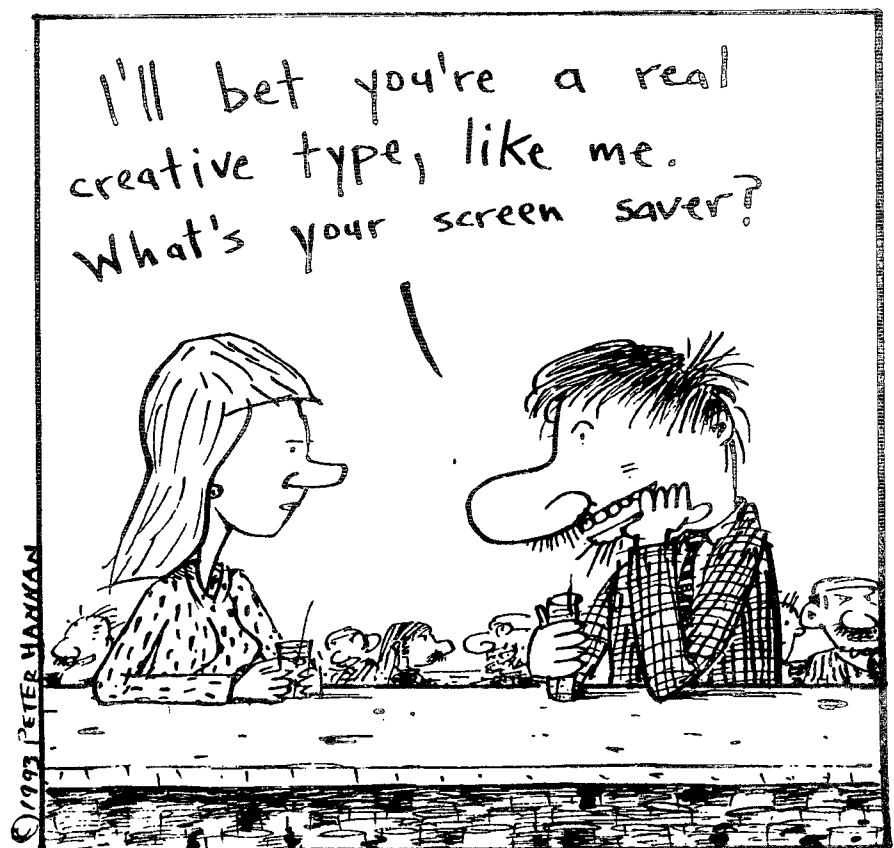
"What they learned from Watergate was not, 'don't do it,' but 'cover it up more effectively.' They have learned that they have to frustrate congressional oversight and press scrutiny in a way that will avoid another major scandal. They have learned how to withhold documents, create cover stories, throw scapegoats over the side, and prevent the truth from ever coming out. They've become experts in convincing officials to perjure themselves to protect their dirty little secrets and in attacking the investigators either in Congress or the press.

"It's all politics to them—the pursuit and maintenance of power. It is the ultimate example of the ends justifying the means and the means are so abhorrent to democracy that they cannot let the people know."

In a future issue I will revisit the October Surprise, with a look at how Trick or Treason was treated by the press and with news of recent developments in the still-unfolding scandal.

THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



THE MILITARY

We arm the world

H

The U.S. has become an "arms superstore" for foreign nations. But the profits are decidedly short-term.

By David Evans
WASHINGTON

ere is a stunner of a statistic: the United States has sold more than \$38 billion worth of armaments to Mideastern countries in the three years since Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. While the Kuwaitis have signed up to buy hundreds of millions of dollars worth of American-made M-1 tanks and F/A-18 fighter-bombers, Saudi Arabia has been the dominant customer, racking up more than \$25 billion in orders to purchase some of America's latest weaponry.

Largely because of the stunning success of American weapons in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, America has become the preferred source of one-stop shop-

ping, an "arms superstore" in the vivid phrasing of Bill Hartung at the World Policy Institute in New York. A foreign government can quite literally buy a military force that is made in America, everything from combat jets to battle tanks to field boots. American defense contractors will provide the maintenance and training personnel, too, for a price.

If the global arms market could be likened to movie producer Steven Spielberg's *Jurassic Park*, then America is tyrannosaurus rex, the biggest dinosaur whose 60 percent dominance of world arms sales overwhelms the lesser players. Next to the mighty American T-Rex, Britain, France and China are more like the smaller predators in Spielberg's movie, the wily velociraptors on the lookout for niche markets, like France's sale of 300 LeClerc battle tanks to the United Arab Emirates.

The increased zeal with which American arms makers are seeking overseas sales is driven by fear. Pentagon orders are declining, so America's weapons makers are seeking orders offshore to compensate for a collapse in the post-Cold War domestic market.

It is a wrongheaded approach, according to many experts. "In the end, the basic problem with foreign military arms sales is that you can never generate enough money to bail out the [defense] industry," explains Franklin Spinney, a mid-level Pentagon official.

"The U.S. defense budget has a value that's greater than most national economies, and these foreign arms sales are more like a placebo that keeps things going to pacify the industry," he says.

To arms control expert Paul Warnke, the de facto policy of selling more arms abroad is tremendously shortsighted.

"It just postpones the day when there will have to be a substantial downsizing of the defense industry," says Warnke, who was chief U.S. negotiator of the SALT II arms treaty with the Soviet Union.

The Pentagon has endured cutbacks before, in the wake of the Korean and Vietnam wars. But those downturns were far less traumatic, because they happened in the context of a continuing Cold War confrontation. Nevertheless, there are a number of telling parallels between the post-Cold War situation today and the post-Vietnam War drawdown in the early '70s.

"The Pentagon procurement budget was slashed [after Vietnam]. Forces went down and weapons that were in production were either truncated or production was drastically reduced," Spinney recalls.

To cite just a few examples, the F-4 and F-111 tactical jet programs were terminated,

The editors of In These Times have long admired journalist David Evans' coverage of the military. As a U.S. Marine Corps lieutenant colonel, Evans was a military readiness and budget expert at the Pentagon during the early '80s. In 1986, after 20 years of service, he retired from the Marines and joined the Chicago Tribune, where he was a military correspondent until this year. Evans is a courageous reporter, a Pentagon insider who's not afraid to point out the abuses and absurdities of the military bureaucracy. In These Times asked him to explore one of the most perplexing problems of the post-Cold War era—the U.S. economy's increasing dependence on foreign arms sales.

This story was made possible by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

demand for military helicopters plummeted and production of the M-113 armored personnel carrier was scaled back considerably.

However, the production meltdown was minimized by an altogether new development, the Nixon Doctrine, named after President Nixon's 1972 policy aimed at finding foreign customers for American military equipment. The United States had long looked overseas to get rid of surplus weapons, but what made the Nixon Doctrine different was that for the first time, the U.S. government was offering to sell front-line American military equipment that was still in production.

That same year, the Pentagon's Defense Security Assistance Agency was created to facilitate and, if necessary, arrange for U.S. government financing or loan guarantees for these sales.

In this respect, the Nixon Doctrine was a dramatic departure from past practice. For American defense contractors suffering post-Vietnam traumatic shock syndrome as weapons orders from the Pentagon fell, the new policy was a godsend. Throughout the mid-'70s, the shah of Iran proved to be an eager customer with deep pockets. Today, Saudi Arabia fills a similar role.

But remember, arming the shah with some of America's latest weaponry—such as F-4 Phantom and F-14 Tomcat interceptors, Spruance-class destroyers and advanced command and control systems—took place against the backdrop of the Cold War. The sales were part of a broader strategic rationale: to help friendly nations defend themselves against what was perceived at the time as an expansionist Soviet threat.

In this respect, Warnke notes the Nixon Doctrine was part of the larger notion of containment. "And now there's nothing to contain," he quips.

Ironically, the threat of an expansionist Iran is now being served up as a justification for arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

But Iranian military capabilities are being exaggerated, argues James Bill, author of *The Eagle and the Lion*, an acclaimed 1988 book about the tragic misunderstandings in American-Iranian relations.

"Take the Iranian air force. Iran had 447 aircraft and 200 more on order on the eve of the 1979 revolution. That's three times what they have now," Bill points out.

"Iran is being outspent by five- or six-to-one by Saudi



Arabia and the other Gulf states, despite the fact that its population is twice that of all the Gulf states put together. An ominous threat is needed to justify arms sales to the Gulf region, but there is no reason to get hysterical about Iran's military might," Bill says.

While King Fahd of Saudi Arabia has now replaced the late shah as America's proconsul in the Mideast, Warnke is not convinced that the Saudis need to be armed to the teeth.

"What are we arming Saudi Arabia to do?" Warnke asks trenchantly. "We demonstrated very clearly that if Iraq, or anybody else, made a move against Saudi Arabia we'd go to war. There is no question about that. We did it with Kuwait."

Not only is the strategic rationale wanting, the United States is in an arms race with itself. This is particularly true in the Mideast, where the United States sells arms to one nation—and, in so doing, tilts the balance of military power—and then sells another bag of weapons to a potential adversary to restore the balance. A case in point: last year, the Bush administration agreed to sell the Saudis 48 F-15E fighter-bombers and an additional 24 F-15s configured solely as air-to-air fighters. Prime contractor McDonnell Douglas lobbied hard for the deal, on the grounds that the sale would preserve jobs and contribute to regional stability.

But Thomas Cardamone, editor of the *Arms Trade News*, a newsletter published by the Council for a Livable

World, observed that now "the U.S. is trying to balance the Saudi sale with about \$2 billion worth of new planes going to Israel."

The deal with Israel is likely to go through. This past September, a McDonnell Douglas sales team briefed Israeli officials on F-15E prices.

The F-15E would greatly increase firepower of both nations. Modern tactical jets equipped with laser-guided bombs are much more destructive than, for example, the Scud missiles used by Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

But not only do such sales intensify the arms race in the Mideast, they also come at the expense of American taxpayers. That's because the Israeli planes will be paid for almost entirely by the U.S. government. "In fiscal 1994, the U.S. will give Israel \$1.8 billion in direct grants for the purchase of military equipment," Cardamone says. "These are arrangements that few Americans appreciate."

And Israel is not alone. Egypt is set to receive \$1.3 billion in military-purchasing grants under the administration's proposed fiscal 1994 budget.

The Israeli sale, of course, would keep the F-15 production line open another year, forestalling the inevitable end of F-15 production at the price of further militarizing the Mideast.

There is another dark side to all this activity. A former Pentagon official with in-depth knowledge of America's weapons sales to Iran, who insisted upon anonymity, recalls that in the early '70s Defense Secretary James Schlesinger "feared that all these arms sales to Iran were becoming a license to steal."

"The corruption was unbelievable. You simply don't sell one of these major weapons systems in a Third World country without paying off government officials, so wherever you have a vigorous foreign military sales program going on, whether it's in the Philippines or in Saudi Arabia, you have this small, select group of people living in palaces," he says.

"The everyday people in these countries resent it, because they know that ultimately they are the ones paying for the palaces and for the American contractor personnel living in their golden ghettos. There is a corrosive intrusiveness to our foreign military arms sales that tends to destabilize governments," says the former official.

In Iran, the widespread resentment over government corruption gave the mullahs added leverage to overthrow the shah.

And yet, despite the mixed legacy of foreign military arms sales, the chance for the quick buck is corrupting the Pentagon thought processes. This contradictory approach to arms sales suggests a mind at war with itself. On the one hand, top Pentagon officials know that the current sales boom is transitory, that defense plants must either be boarded up or converted to civilian production. Yet, in the short term, these officials are working to compete even more fiercely for foreign military sales.

For example, Clinton administration officials are seeking to strike the law requiring that a portion of the research and

development cost be included in the price of a major weapons system. That one change could drop the selling price of the F-15E by about 5 percent, or roughly \$4 million per plane.

A Pentagon source estimated that these more favorable prices could boost U.S. arms sales by \$150 million to \$300 million annually.

But even as U.S. government officials seek such marginal advantages, they appreciate fully the fragility of the international arms market. They know in their bones that the boom is over.

The Defense Security Assistance Agency will rack up \$33 billion in weapons sales this year. But a senior Pentagon official with long experience in foreign military sales, who requested anonymity, readily acknowledges that orders "could drop by half in fiscal 1994 and could level off to \$10 billion later this decade."

"There is just no way you can sustain \$33 billion a year," he adds, ticking off the reasons: a reduced threat, declining oil prices that are affecting the Saudi and Kuwaiti economies, and the overarching fact that defense budgets in nations across the globe are flat or declining.

The defense conversion problem is inescapable. As a first step, the U.S. should not sell arms to repressive regimes, suggests Lora Lumpe, director of the Arms Sales Monitoring Process for the Federation of American Scientists.

"There is a move among many arms-control groups here and in England to come up with a code of conduct for foreign arms sales, where some buyer countries would get filtered out due to free speech and human rights abuses," she says.

Such nations just might include big buyers like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

"Such a code of conduct for arms sales would turn the oversight process upside down," Lumpe adds. "Right now, the U.S. Congress has to vote to *disapprove* arms sales. We would like to see this changed to where Congress would have to vote to *approve* every sale."

Indeed, as *In These Times* went to press, Rep. Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR) were both expected to introduce legislation that would put this concept into law.

The view from the Pentagon about congressional oversight is somewhat different. If silence denotes consent, then Congress implicitly approved every dollar of the \$33 billion in arms sales toted up this year, says the senior official.

"We are not hiding anything. We report every sale. The Pentagon does not make these decisions by itself," he says.

Warnke would go further. "I would put very strict limits on every weapons system covered by the Conventional Forces in Europe accord," he says, referring to the 1992 treaty by which the United States, its NATO allies and nations of the former Warsaw Pact are now eliminating major stocks of offensive armaments such as jet fighter-bombers, tanks and infantry fighting vehicles.

In addition, Warnke believes that the money the Defense Security Assistance Agency presently makes on each arms

sale should be plowed into defense conversion. Presently, the agency adds a 3 percent surcharge to every sale, from which it derives about 90 percent of its roughly \$300 million-a-year funding. That 3 percent "tax" provides an incentive for further arms sales: the more arms the agency sells, the more money it reaps for its own budget.

Seymour Melman, emeritus professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University in New York City and a longtime critic of America's heavily militarized industrial economy, is thinking much bigger than \$300 million for conversion.

He calls the Clinton administration's proposal to spend roughly \$3 billion, or twice the amount planned by the Bush administration, "pathetic."

"It's a lot of research contracts for dual-use technology," he says. Under the rubric of dual-use, the conversion money would be plowed into projects for computers, infrared sensors and other technologies that offer both civilian and military application.

"The Clinton dual-use program will be like a halfway house for defense-dependent firms," Melman says.

The central problem, as Melman sees it, is that "in the land of dual-use, the military side always gets first preference in terms of technology, people and money."

This leads not only to design problems, but economic ones as well. "The idea of having military laboratories, where cost doesn't matter, developing civilian products, where cost is paramount, is ludicrous," Melman asserts.

Melman has in mind a very, very big program. Not a \$3 billion program focused on dual-use, but a massive effort involving expenditures of up to \$165 billion a year to re-industrialize America. That's more than half of the current military budget.

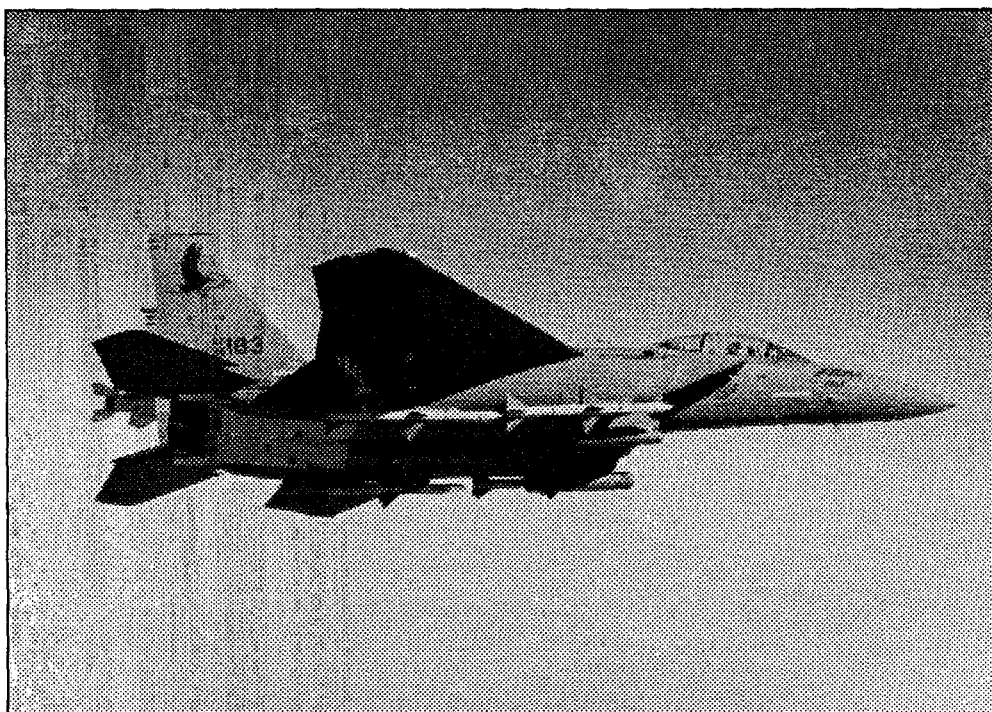
In an October paper written for the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament, Melman notes that 2.7 million American workers are involved in weapons production, and that about 2.7 million workers would be required "if current [domestic] markets currently served by imports were served from U.S.-based production."

Foreign arms sales can't come close to generating that many jobs. Daniel Smith at the Center for Defense Information points out in a recent essay that America's weapons exports sustain only about 328,000 jobs.

In many cases, such as in consumer electronics, America's production capacity has atrophied to the point where it can no

longer meet domestic needs. It is ironic to juxtapose this undercapacity with America's excess weapons production capability. For example, the Lockheed factory at Fort Worth, Texas, could produce the 200 fighters the entire U.S. Air Force would need to sustain an acceptable modernization rate.

As one step in the effort to convert and reinvigorate America's industrial economy, Melman proposes spending \$10 billion a year to electrify America's railroads, both passenger and freight.



U.S. sales of the F-15E are increasing the destructive capabilities of Mideast nations.

The Europeans are doing it, he notes, and such a program here would entail the regeneration of an entire industry.

"Factories to produce the reinforced concrete ties, the production of continuous-welded steel rails, the signalling systems, are just part of the long list of items that would be needed. This kind of national investment in our infrastructure would change the mindset at the worker level. They would see an alternative to defense work," Melman maintains.

The nationwide railroad overhaul and electrification project he advocates would produce jobs on a massive scale, and given that railroads are more fuel-efficient than trucks or airplanes, there would be a vast savings in the nation's fuel bill. (See *In These Times*, June 14, 1993.)

Where would the money come from for a \$165-billion-a-year conversion program? Among other sources, the federal government could provide seed money to a new network of development banks, one in each congressional district, that would focus primarily on providing capital for worker-owned commercial enterprises. With 435 congressional districts, \$20 million in start-up capital would require about

OFFICIAL U.S. AIR FORCE PHOTO (RELEASED)

\$9.7 billion. That \$9.7 billion in federal seed money is roughly one-tenth of the Pentagon procurement budget.

Melman cautions, however, that “the reductions in the Defense Department budget are economically viable *only* if they are done in the presence of conversion plans and a program schedule that features a dollar-for-dollar transfer from military programs to civilian projects.”

Unfortunately, the Pentagon’s leadership has other plans. Spinney points out that under President Clinton’s most

effort will be for naught: it will take an unprecedented 40 years to buy enough F-22s to equip the smaller force.

The F-22 program is emblematic of a grim story that is virtually the same in terms of Army equipment and Navy warships. High costs are causing a collapse of production rates. Nonetheless, the Clinton administration has been unwilling to make tough choices about which programs should survive in the post-Cold War era.

Not only has Clinton as commander-in-chief not canceled a single weapons program based on the needs of the Cold War (such as the B-2 stealth bomber), he has resurrected a brace of Cold War weapons canceled by former President Bush, notably the SSN-21 Seawolf submarine, a land-attack version of the F-14 Tomcat air-to-air interceptor dubbed the “Bombrat,” and the V-22 tilt-rotor plane for the Marine Corps.

Clinton appears unwilling to clamp down on the military’s budget for the same reason he’s reticent to slow foreign arms sales: the loss of millions of American jobs. But all these Cold War weapons programs are holding hostage the tens of billions of dollars in funds that could be applied to conversion—an endeavor that, in the long run, offers the potential for stimulating the creation of far more jobs than arms production ever could.

“We have to start looking at options for a real post-Cold War [defense] budget, perhaps somewhere in the range of \$160 billion to \$180 billion in current dollars around the year 2000,” Spinney suggests. Such a review of military spending, Spinney and other experts say, would force the Pentagon’s leadership to look at real choices, such as low-cost but high-effectiveness “mudfighters” to fly close-air support for the infantry, and at warships more suitable than billion-dollar Aegis cruisers for the blockade of Haiti or for fighting in the coastal waters of Third World nations.

Without this kind of a true bottom-up review, the defense budget cannot be cut much below the Cold War low without savaging the armed forces and the defense industry. Yet the “bottom-up” review just completed by Defense Secretary Les Aspin produced a plan loaded with all sorts of expensive modernization commitments whose costs have not yet been connected to Clinton’s defense budget projections. The Pentagon’s plans may not “fit” under Clinton’s projected “ceilings.”

They won’t fit because hard choices about what’s truly affordable have not yet been made. The situation brings to mind an old Marine Corps aphorism, “Ultimate flexibility is having no plan at all.”

But as Melman points out, “To have an effective conversion program, you first have to plan for it.”



An American-made helicopter gunship in El Salvador.

recent budget projection, defense spending will decline just 15 percent, from about \$263 billion in fiscal 1994 to a “freeze” later this decade of around \$225 billion a year, in fiscal 1994 dollars.

Compare this figure to fiscal 1975, when post-Vietnam War defense spending bottomed out at \$230 billion in fiscal 1994 dollars. In short, Clinton proposes to freeze defense spending later this decade at a level that is roughly 98 percent of the Cold War low. This minor reduction is more like a jetliner hitting a pocket of turbulence at 30,000 feet than a descent to a truly peacetime level of spending.

Pentagon planners project that U.S. military forces will be much smaller in years to come. So why does the military’s budget remain so high? Because of the spiraling costs of new weapons.

The new F-22 fighter for the Air Force is a telling case in point. The F-22, which is to replace the F-15 family of combat jets, will cost upwards of \$100 million a copy, perhaps as much as \$150 million. The Air Force was so determined to modernize with this new fast, stealthy fighter that, to save costs, it has cut its fighter force from 40 to 20 wings (of 72 airplanes each). Nonetheless, the F-22 will be bought in such low quantities (24 per year) that the “modernization”

© LARRY BOYD/IMPACT VISUALS

LABOR

Hanging tough

**Two unions
bank on
outside help
in their
struggles.**

By David Moberg

In Stockton, Calif., a billboard offers advice: "Can Walnuts, Not Workers." In this city they do both on a grand scale.

Diamond Walnut's long metal factory buildings and storage bins at the south end of this San Joaquin Valley agribusiness center form the industrial heart of the world walnut industry. California dwarfs the rest of the world in walnut production and exports 40 percent of its crop overseas every year. Diamond Walnut, a marketing cooperative owned by its 2,200 mem-

bers (most of them small farmers), in turn controls half of U.S. production, putting it among the Fortune 500 largest industrial corporations.

From 1956 until 1991, the company and its Teamster-represented workers toiled together in nearly unbroken harmony. Despite seasonal fluctuations of employment, many employees had worked for two or three decades for Diamond Walnut. The workforce, nearly two-thirds female, was a new polycultural Californian mix: half Mexican-American, the remainder a combination of Anglos, African-Americans, Pakistanis, Filipinos, Chinese, Indians and Vietnamese.

In 1985, when the company was in deep financial trouble, largely because of mismanagement, workers agreed to cuts in pay of 30 to 40 percent, which pushed most of them from more than \$10 an hour to around \$7. The company, after hiring a notoriously anti-union law firm, had suggested it might move to Mexico—but work-

ers responded out of concern as well as fear.

"We said, 'This is our plant, we're proud of it, we'll help it,' " recalls Cynthia Zavala, a veteran of 33 years who has emerged as a spokeswoman for the strikers. "We all formed committees on how to save them money. Then with our wage cuts they bought automatic machinery. They said, 'We'll help you if you stick by us.' "

With workers' ideas and new machinery, employment was cut in half to about 600, while productivity and profits soared: from 1988 to 1991, Diamond Walnut returned an average of 40 percent on investment (in part thanks to tax breaks for cooperatives). Workers were never able to regain the wages they had given up in 1985; in 1991, the company offered only a modest pay hike and demanded that workers pay part of their health insurance premiums—yielding a net loss in income.

In September 1991, at the start of the harvest season, the union went on strike, despite high unemployment in the valley. Management and the growers were outraged that the union would use its leverage when the company was most vulnerable. Though walnuts aren't especially perishable, Christmas is a prime marketing time for whole walnuts, especially in Europe.

But the company had strikebreakers ready: they had been in the plant for weeks, learning the jobs while watching the union workers. Unlike the largely Latina workforce, the

At a time when management has the upper hand, easily able to recruit permanent replacements for strikers or to lock workers out, unions have sought new ways to fight back. But beyond the strategic lessons we can learn from conflicts explored in this article, there is a political lesson for the Clinton administration.

In their pursuit of the cooperative, high-performance workplace, Clintonites should remember the workers at Diamond Walnut and Staley Manufacturing. Unions in both companies cooperated with management for several years to improve efficiency—even at the cost of hundreds of jobs. Then management attacked.

If workers don't have independent unions, with more legal power than unions now have, including protection from permanent or extended "temporary" replacement on strike, the kind of cooperation the Clinton administration hopes to foster will likely turn out to be little more than a pro-management fraud, with more social costs than gains.

replacements were mainly young men, about one-third Anglo. And, on the union side, local president Lucio Reyes, elected last December in the middle of the strike, says that, "I don't think there was enough preparation for the strike. There wasn't a strategic campaign."

After a few months the local union called a boycott and a union recertification election to head off a management decertification drive. There have been quite a few irregularities in the elections. With strikers and "scabs" both voting, the union lost the balloting last fall, but the election was later overturned by the National Labor Relations Board because of management violations. Most of the votes in a new election last month were contested, and new charges have been filed. Many strikers, for example, received anonymous letters threatening to "crack your head" if they voted for the union.

Newly elected Teamster president Ron Carey decided early in 1992 to beef up the strike. "He's like night and day compared to the old guard," Reyes claims. The union accelerated the boycott; according to the company, sales in November 1992 had dropped 11 percent below normal in northern California groceries. The union is also pressuring industrial users and campaigning against California walnuts in Europe. This strategy, too, has had its successes: a number of manufacturers—from the upscale Godiva chocolate company to the makers of Fannie Mae candies and Nabisco—have switched to other brands.

In Europe, strikers and Teamster officials met with distributors and unions to urge a boycott. Last month the Solidarity union in Poland joined in a protest against Diamond Walnuts at a Polish trade show. The company's attempt to break into that market is being financed with \$500,000 from the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Environmentalists in the United States and in Europe have objected to Diamond Walnut's use of chlorine bleach, methyl bromide and a chlorine-based pesticide in the preparation of their walnuts. (These chemicals are implicated in health problems and ozone depletion.) German and Dutch environmentalists are trying to block Diamond Walnuts from the markets because of these environmental transgressions. French walnut farmers are protesting Agriculture Department subsidies of nearly \$50 million since 1986 for marketing walnuts overseas. As a result of the publicity, other California walnut processors have complained that their European sales are down, suggesting that Diamond Walnut has suffered as well.

Strikers have used a variety of creative techniques to get their message across: a cross-country bus tour, a 40-day liquid fast, leafleting at Christmas-time performances of the Nutcracker ballet, and emotion-laden speeches to labor, religious and other audiences to build support and raise money. The strikers have strong backing in Stockton, from both residents and businesses: one city council member even joined the fast. Karen Nussbaum, director of the Department of Labor Women's Bureau, prepared an official report sympathetic to their cause.

"The boycott has had a very important psychological impact on the strikers, on the Stockton community and on the labor movement out here," says Don Villarejo, director of the California Institute for Rural Studies. The economic effect is, at least so far, less clear. "I don't think there's any significant impact on sales," Villarejo notes. "They've got a long way to go to get the 10 to 20 percent needed."

Yet the strikers have held fast, buoyed by the international solidarity they have received. "This place had a great group of people working here," says striking mechanic John Mayhew. "I will not cross that picket line. I respect them, and I respect myself. I have values. Certain things I will not do."

* * *

Like the Diamond Walnut workers, employees of a big corn and starch manufacturing factory near Decatur, Ill., have relied heavily on outside support in their lockout battle with the A.E. Staley Company.

The dispute began to heat up earlier this year. After years of cooperation between labor and management, the Staley workers felt that the company had betrayed them. Company executives wanted drastic changes in work rules and a system of 12-hour, rotating shifts that would cut annual income, weaken the union and worsen working conditions. Convinced that their employer wanted them to strike in order to replace them and break the union, they turned to other tactics—including a "corporate campaign" to attack Staley's links to financial supporters and an "inside campaign," in which workers followed company rules to the letter, effectively reducing productivity. (See *In These Times*, April 5, 1993.)

These tactics, by early summer, were having an effect: the company admitted production was down, and directors linked to Staley resigned from two banks targeted for boycotts. Then on June 27 the company struck back, locking out all 760 workers and bringing in salaried employees, strikebreakers and outside contractors to run the plant. Now the company says it will recall only 400 workers and subcontract the remaining jobs, thus adding another issue in the dispute.

The union, a local of the Allied Industrial Workers, which merged with the International Paperworkers in September, has continued its battle. Declaring Illinois a labor-management "war zone," they linked their lockout with other labor battles across the state: a lockout by a local power company, the continuing dispute at Caterpillar (where a strike was broken but a limited inside campaign continues), and the national coal strike, which involves many miners in central and southern Illinois. As a way of raising money and spirits and mobilizing for demonstrations, the

***Staley
workers
have a
slogan:
"It's our
solidarity
vs. theirs."***

locked-out Staley workers adopted the slogan, "It's our solidarity vs. theirs."

"Their solidarity," in the case of Staley, includes an alliance of banks, the State Farm Insurance Company and Archer Daniels Midland (ADM), the leading corn and soybean processor. Also headquartered in Decatur, amid the lush corn and bean fields of central Illinois, ADM owns 7.4 percent of Tate & Lyle, the British conglomerate owner of Staley.

Union president Dave Watts sees ADM as "the lead rat" in the industry. The union claims, based on reports from truck drivers, that ADM is now helping Staley fill orders. At a stockholder meeting recently, ADM chairman Dwayne Andreas did not deny the charge. The union is also picketing a local bank owned by ADM. Because State Farm is a major investor in ADM stocks and bonds (as well as a large Caterpillar stockholder), it is also a boycott target. "State Farm has great economic and political muscle," argues corporate campaign consultant Ray Rogers. "State Farm is the biggie here."

Even if State Farm executives don't pull all the strings, Rogers' strategy embroils other big businesses in a messy dispute in which they want no part. The corporate campaign also gives locked-out workers something to do. "The campaign against the banks accomplished everything we wanted," Watts says. "It gave confidence to the members and their families. It showed this union can have an impact."

With workers locked out, consultant Jerry Tucker's in-plant strategy came to a halt. Although the company claimed sabotage and vandalism, Tucker notes that the company found no evidence for discipline or discharge of any worker on those grounds during the 10-month battle.

Now Tucker, a dissident United Auto Workers leader, is helping the local contact unions at companies that use Staley's products—manufacturers of beer, jam, candy and other such items. "We wouldn't ask workers to refuse to handle the products," which would violate prohibitions on such "hot cargo" actions, Tucker says. But they will ask those unions to monitor the quality and delivery of Staley products. William Taylor, president of the council of unions in the corn milling industry, argues that Staley will eventually falter because it cannot produce sufficiently high quality corn products with its inexperienced workforce. Eventually, if the union can establish that ADM is providing Staley "mutual assistance," then it can legally extend its picketing to ADM plants.

Meanwhile, the union continues its boycott of Domino's and GW sugars (both Tate & Lyle products) and has sent teams of "road warriors" across the country to tell their story. (Anti-Staley leaflets have made it to the picket line headquarters at Diamond Walnut.) Rogers is trying to involve British unions in the battle with Tate & Lyle, a move other strategists have long recommended that the local pursue vigorously.

On the legal front, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ordered Staley to halt its surveillance of workers, which the Board declared an unfair labor practice. The union has also asked the NLRB to rule that Staley's lockout is itself illegal (much as the NLRB did recently in the case of the lockout at Central Illinois Public Service Company, the local utility).

Through their long ordeal, the mainly middle-aged white workers from Staley have maintained a fighting spirit not unlike the multi-ethnic, mostly female workers at Diamond Walnut. At a recent weekly meeting, with nearly 700 workers and family members in attendance, a group of Mexican autoworkers told about being fired from their Ford assembly plant in Mexico for union activities. As they finished speaking, a Staley worker suggested that they pass the hat for their Mexican brothers. The crowd, out of work for four months and busy raising money to pay for health insurance for its own members, quickly raised \$700. "It's just one hell of a group there," Taylor said with admiration. "They're strong."

Prepare for life in Capitalist America ... play CLASS STRUGGLE — the Game!

Find out for yourself why over 300 papers and other media (including T.V.'s TODAY and TOMORROW SHOWS) have featured stories about "Class Struggle." Order now!

"Class Struggle" can be played by two to six players who represent different classes, the main classes being Workers and Capitalists. Both rules and content reflect what actually occurs in our society. For example, people do not choose their classes but are born into them. In the game, this is decided by a throw of the "Genetic Die." The main strategy of the game involves the making and breaking of class alliances. Elections, strikes, and revolution are occasions for Workers and Capitalists (and their respective allies) to confront each other on the basis of the points (strengths) they have accumulated.



Make checks payable to:
**The Avalon Hill
Game Company**
Dept. IT,
4517 Hartford Rd.
Baltimore, MD 21214.
Or call TOLL FREE
1-800-999-3222

Send me _____ copies of Class Struggle @ \$25 plus \$2.50 shipping. DO NOT SEND CASH.
I enclose: ☐ Check ☐ Money Order ☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard Card info. below

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

ACCOUNT # _____

SIGNATURE _____

EXPIRATION DATE _____

BLACK AMERICA

Increase the peace

U

*The gang
truce effort
is bringing
together
unlikely
allies in
the black
community.*

By Salim Muwakkil
CHICAGO

Urban black America may be redefining its political contours. One indication of change was the presence in Chicago last month of several seasoned politicians at the national street gang peace summit, including Jesse Jackson—arguably the most astute black politician on the national scene.

With his usual rhetorical flourish, Jackson referred to the gang truce effort as the new civil rights movement. During a pomp-filled ceremony at Operation PUSH headquarters on the city's South Side, the two-time presidential candidate applauded those attempting to forge peace in violence-plagued communities. While a sneering mainstream levels nothing but scorn at the project, Jackson noted, national leadership has yet to effectively address the problem of urban violence.

He urged truce leaders to disregard the local media's

relentlessly negative portrayals of their efforts. "Even when Jesus tried to bring peace, there were those who threw stones in his way," Jackson said. "It takes more strength and courage to come here together than to throw stones."

A number of local politicians also made common cause with gang summit organizers. And although those black elected officials may genuinely have supported the summit's lofty goals, they clearly were concerned with more pedestrian matters—politics, for example.

The truce movement already has begun flexing its political muscles through a new organization called 21st Century VOTE (see *In These Times*, Oct. 18, 1993). This group has emerged on the scene seemingly from nowhere and employed its street gang links to mobilize thousands of youths for a recent series of political rallies that literally closed down Chicago's busy Loop. The ability of this new group to galvanize massive crowds with little advance notice or

fanfare has attracted the attention of many politicians, black and white.

But perhaps the most unlikely booster of the gang truce movement is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the nation's oldest and, many would say, stodgiest civil rights organization. Under the path-breaking leadership of the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, the NAACP has been prominent in lending both financial and moral support for those trying to increase the peace.

Chavis was a major backer of the first national gang summit—which took place in Kansas City this past April and brought together more than 150 gangs in the initial attempt to forge a national truce movement—and has been closely involved in the movement's progress since that time. While participating in the Chicago summit, the fourth such meeting since April, Chavis involved himself in several unprecedented events.

He addressed gang members from the podium of the Nation of Islam's (NOI) Mosque Maryam, and embraced NOI leader Louis Farrakhan during an emotional ceremony. This was the first time a leader of the integrationist NAACP had ever spoken from a platform provided by the separatist NOI.

Chavis also led a controversial assembly at a violence-plagued South Side high school in which gang leaders convicted of various felonies were given recognition (and awarded plaques) for their truce attempts. The very fact that the venerable civil rights organization would lend its considerable prestige to such a controversial activity is a strong indication that a major change of tactics is occurring in African-Americans' ongoing quest for social equity.

Jackson, who also was scheduled to address the crowd at

the NOI's elegant headquarters, later sent word that a "scheduling conflict" prevented his appearance. Although concern for the mounting toll of violence in black inner cities has sparked a rapprochement of sorts between the varied strains of black leadership (see *In These Times* Nov. 1, 1993), Jackson remains reluctant to renew his old ties with Farrakhan. The peripatetic PUSH founder retains some electoral ambitions and he knows from bitter experience that affiliating with the Black Muslim leader has high political costs.

There are also costs associated with supporting the gang truce movement, but the ever-calculating Jackson apparently is convinced that such costs are negligible—and that support for gang peace may even prove beneficial for his political future. For black political aspirants in Chicago, however, the cost-benefits ratio is not yet clear. Rep. Mel Reynolds (D-IL), the freshmen congressman who defeated Gus Savage in a bitterly contested election in 1992, is banking on an anti-gang summit posture to get him through his upcoming electoral challenge.

Reynolds organized about 50 black professionals in an "anti-gang summit" and bitterly condemned those black elected officials and political hopefuls who lent their support to the peace summit. "Giving those gangbangers credibility sends the wrong message to young people who are struggling to stay out of gangs and doing the right things, like staying in school and disdaining drug use," he said.

Chicago alderman Allan Streeter is one of Reynolds' major rivals in the 1995 congressional race and is also a strong supporter of the truce movement. Streeter has been conspicuous in many of the rallies sponsored by 21st Century VOTE and appeared with Jackson at the PUSH ceremony. He castigated Reynolds for "turning his back rather than reaching out."

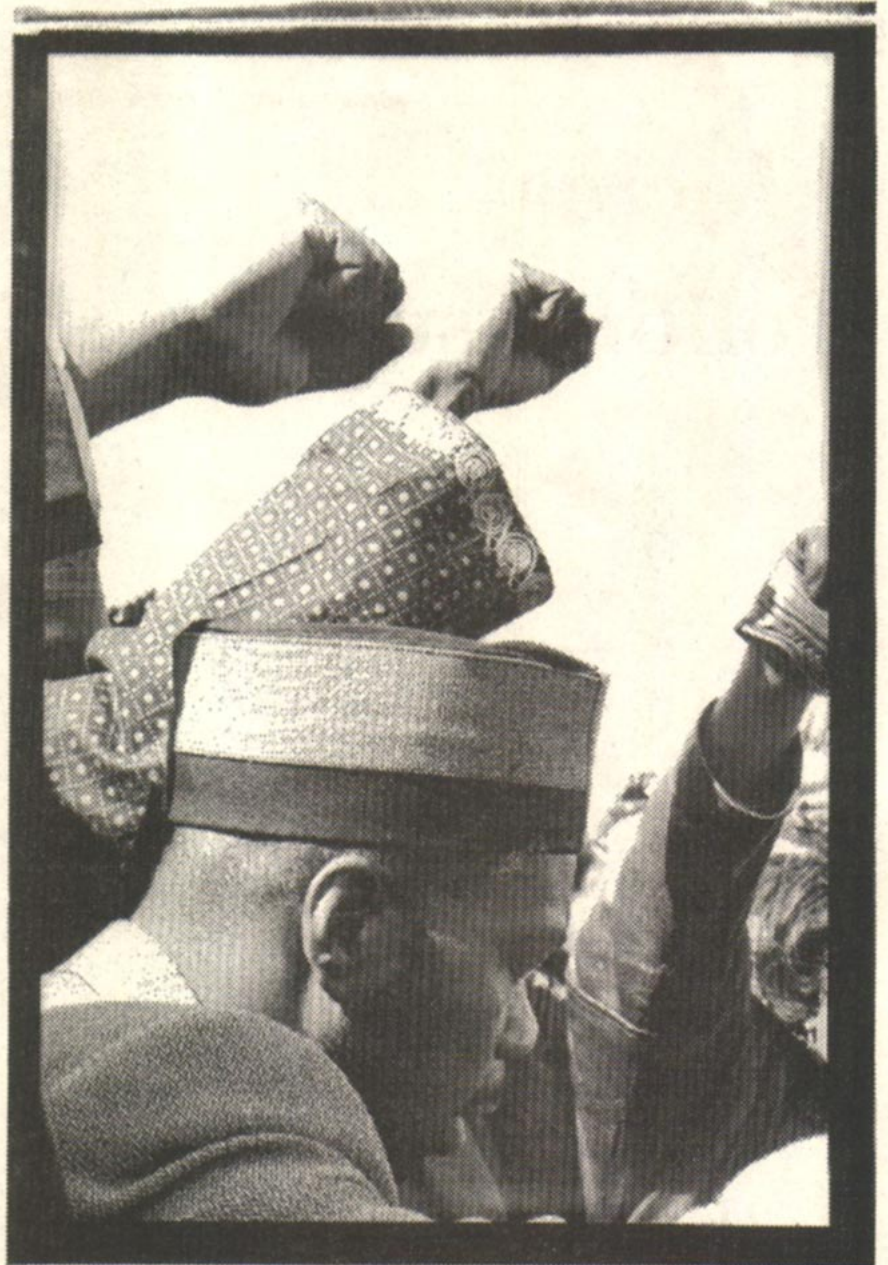
The city's major media, municipal officials and the police department have all criticized the gang peace summit as a scam designed to give credibility to what is essentially a criminal enterprise. In fact, the concert of condemnation has been so concordant it seems to have issued from the same source, providing fuel for those who argue that they can discern the heavy hand of the FBI.

The FBI has indeed reallocated resources formerly devoted to Cold War counterintelligence to help police agencies

in their fight against gangs, and a new FBI gang task force was formed a little more than a year ago in Chicago with that specific purpose. What's more, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley had just concluded a meeting in Washington, D.C., with newly named FBI Director Louis J. Freeh when he delivered a stinging denunciation of the entire truce movement. With so much new money being devoted to anti-gang efforts, there is no doubt that a true cessation of gang violence would place many police and prison jobs in jeopardy.

It may be too cynical to attribute law enforcement's skepticism of gang peace to a fear of unemployment, but it's not entirely unreasonable. ◀

Participants at the recent gang summit in Chicago.



Political suicide

*How
the Tories
and the
socialists
died by
their own
hands.*

By Doug Smith

In "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," Oscar Wilde observed that "each man kills the thing he loves." Since Brian Mulroney is not much of a literary man (he reached his artistic heights singing "When Irish Eyes are Smiling" with Ronald Reagan at the Shamrock Summit conference that marked the beginning of his sell-out of Canada), Wilde's bittersweet observation probably did not run through the former Canadian prime minister's head on election night October 25.

But it would have been appropriate. Nine years ago Mulroney led the Conservative Party out of the wilderness, winning a massive majority. In 1988, he led the Tories to a second victory in a bitterly contested election fought around the

proposed Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. Over the last five years, however, Mulroney's popularity fell to record lows.

The reasons for the Conservatives' decline in political fortunes are easy to trace. The free trade agreement brought the recession to Canada ahead of schedule—labor organizations blame it for the loss of 300,000 jobs. A national 7 percent sales tax was brought in, despite overwhelming public opposition. A variety of state-owned corporations were sold off. Universal social programs—which Mulroney once described as a "sacred trust"—were cut back. Unemployment seemed stuck at 11 percent.

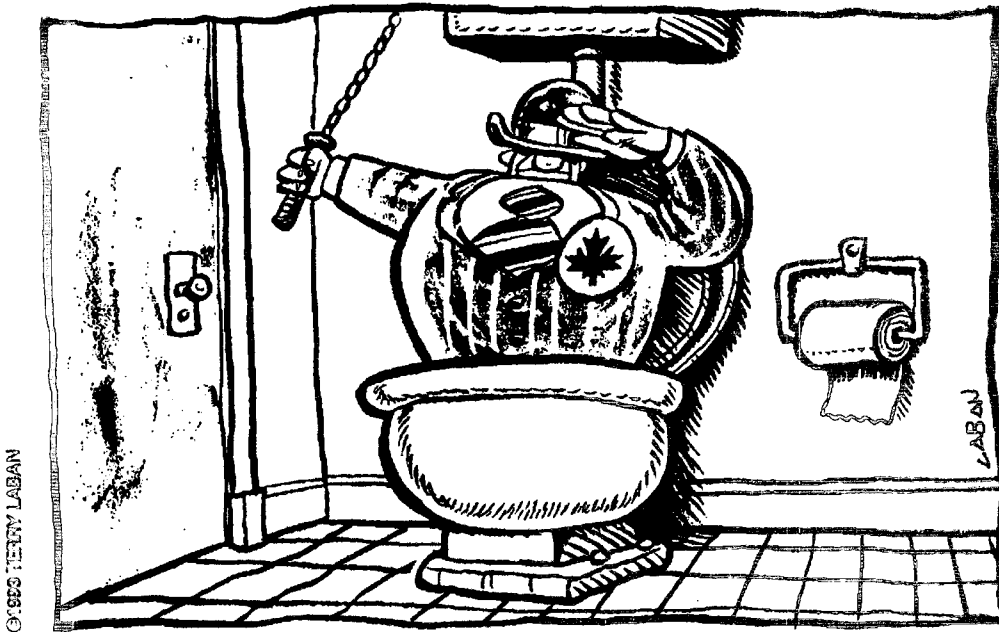
Finally, Mulroney's planned rewriting of the Canadian constitution—which sought to address French-speaking Quebec's desire for greater sovereignty by granting numerous federal powers to the provincial governments—was in tatters. Mulroney's chief Quebec cabinet minister, Lucien Bouchard, quit the administration to lead a separatist party—the Bloc Québécois. At the same time a new right-wing English-language party was founded in western Canada. The Reform Party, led by Preston Manning, claimed that Mulroney had not gone far enough. The party called for tougher laws, an end to bilingualism, the elimination of the federal deficit in three years and the end of the country's single-payer health care system (although the party was sometimes less than forthright in the way it expressed these goals).

With the pillars of his temple collapsing, Mulroney resigned as prime minister, and was replaced by Defense Minister Kim Campbell. Abrasive and abusive where Mulroney had been oily and unctuous, Campbell started her campaign by taking a shot at Liberal Party leader Jean Chrétien's proposed jobs creation plan. Campbell said the plan was unrealistic, since in her opinion there would be no significant improvement in unemployment until the end of the century. The following week she said elections were not the proper forum for debating the future of Canada's social programs.

On election night the Conservatives, who had won 169 of 295 parliamentary seats in 1988, were reduced to two seats in the House of Commons. Neither of them belonged to Campbell.

One of the few things Brian Mulroney appears to have had any passion for was the federal Conservative Party, and there can be little doubt that he killed it.

Chrétien's Liberals, on the other hand, racked up a massive majority of 178 seats—although they received only 41 percent of the popular vote. Chrétien, who served as justice and finance minister in the governments of Pierre Trudeau, coasted to this victory having to make very few concrete



complete fiasco, and ended with the introduction of a piece of Draconian labor legislation.

As a result, the NDP has managed to alienate both the leadership and membership of the Canadian labor movement. Federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin tried to distance herself from the Rae government, but she could not move fast enough or far enough—and so, on election night, the NDP did not win a single seat in Ontario and was reduced to eight seats across the country.

To call the party's federal campaign ill-considered would be to flatter it—by election's end the NDP was saying that the only way Canadians could

promises. The centerpiece of his election campaign was the promise of a national job creation program. He also expressed second thoughts on the North American Free Trade Agreement and promised to scrap a controversial and expensive military helicopter purchase.

Reneging on these promises as the business community puts pressure on the government to reduce the deficit will be the first order of business for Chrétien. The second will be dealing with the country's looming constitutional crisis. Bouchard and the Bloc Québécois won 54 seats in Quebec. Most of the Liberal victories were in English-speaking communities. Within the year a separatist government could come to power in Quebec City. Any effort Chrétien makes to undercut separatism in Quebec is likely to meet with vicious opposition from Manning, whose reform party won 52 parliamentary seats.

And what about the social democratic New Democratic Party (NDP)? In 1990, the NDP surprised everyone by coming to power in Ontario, the richest province in Canada. Three years later the provincial government is in tatters: a succession of cabinet ministers and ministerial aides have resigned after becoming involved in petty scandals; central election promises, such as a commitment to bring in government-owned automobile insurance, have been shelved; and, most disturbingly, Premier Bob Rae has become a zealous convert to the doctrine of deficit reduction.

This past spring Rae tried to force the public sector unions into a social contract that would have cut their pay without guarantees of job security. It was a

ensure that the Liberals would make good on their election promises was to elect a strong contingent of New Democrats. Most voters preferred to vote Liberal, partially to ensure the Conservatives' defeat and partially, one suspects, out of the sensible belief that the Liberals don't need the NDP's aid in breaking campaign commitments.

And as Bob Rae contemplates the NDP's future, he would do well to consult Oscar Wilde, who elsewhere in "Reading Gaol" wrote, "Something was dead in each of us/ And what was dead was hope."

Doug Smith is a Winnipeg writer and broadcaster. His most recent book, co-written with Jock Bates and Essylt Jones, is *Lives in the Public Service: A History of the Manitoba Government Employees' Union*, published by the Manitoba Labor Education Center.



Complete the cycle. Buy recycled™

Separating your trash is great, but you're not really recycling until you buy recycled products. Many community recycling programs have started enthusiastically—only to close because that can't find a market for their collected recyclables. It's up to each of us to help

create that market. That's why we started Atlantic Recycled Paper Company—to make recycled paper products readily available to businesses and individuals. We carry unbleached papers with the highest post-consumer waste content available! Give us a call.

**Atlantic
Recycled
Paper Co.**

Envelopes
Copy Paper
Printing Paper
Computer Paper

Napkins
Toilet Paper
Paper Towels
Facial Tissues

FOR FREE CATALOGUE: (800) 323-2811

EDUCATION

The dangers of a national curriculum

By Michael W. Apple

Right-wing ideas come in two basic varieties, neoconservative and neoliberal. Neoconservatives want strong state control over morality and culture. Neoliberals, by and large, prefer the opposite—a weak state guided by that lovely fiction, the invisible hand of the market. In education we are witnessing both. Neoconservatives argue for a return to the “basics,” to the guiding light of the great books and to the ideas of the “Western tradition.” They want to establish national tests to guarantee that this knowledge is taught and that teachers and schools are held accountable for the transmission of these ideas.

Neoliberals, on the other hand, want to submit education to market forces. Plans for privatization, for choice and for schools run by business and industry are their guiding aims. The more schools look like (and meet) the needs of the private corporate sector, the better off we’ll be, they argue.

You’d think that these two ideologies would be mutually exclusive. Yet behind the scenes in the Clinton administration, and in the more conservative forces now organizing at local and state levels, a movement is

developing that ultimately could unite these two conservative visions into something truly dangerous—especially for those children already suffering the most from the skewed results of our economic and educational policies.

The Clinton administration has quite a contradictory agenda in education. Progressive proposals, such as increasing the funding for early childhood programs, sit side by side with more retrogressive ideas, such as linking education even more closely to the immediate economic needs of business interests. Yet some of the administration’s recent pronouncements may ultimately lend support to policies that even it totally opposes. I am referring here to the pressure to institute a national curriculum in the United States.

Many voices on the right and in the Clinton administration are calling for the establishment of a set of national curriculum guidelines and performance standards. Secretary of Education Richard Riley and President Clinton were clearly concerned with improving the effectiveness of our schools when they asked for such standards. Thus, the issue cannot be reduced to a simple right/center/left formula.

What could be wrong with this? Shouldn’t we know where we want our children to be headed and if they get there? Many issues could be raised here—for example, the lack of any substantive public discussion of what we should teach, the lack of consensus on what counts as basics, the very real danger of ideological indoctrination.

Yet other issues tend to get ignored. Among the most crucial of these is how such a proposal for strong government control over the curriculum may encourage privatization. This is connected in the minds of many of its proponents with the dismantling of public schools and their replacement by radical plans for school choice including the private sector.

A vision of the world as a vast supermarket is implicit in many of the proposals for a national curriculum. Those who propose such a course are not primarily concerned with standardized goals and content but with providing the framework within which national testing can function. A national curriculum and its accompanying national test plan would put in place a system of “quality tags” by which educational “consumers” could discover which “product” is better. In this way, free market forces can operate. If the consumer were presented with an attractive range of choices, both a national curriculum and national testing would act as watchdogs to guarantee that “product” information is made available. With enough information, this theory goes, the market will function smoothly to bring back schools that perform the way they once did.

Stripped of its right-wing romanticism, this is reform on the cheap. In real life, a system of national curricula and national testing cannot help but ratify and exacerbate gender, race and class differences in the absence of sufficient resources—both human and material. Thus, when the fiscal crisis in most of our urban areas is so severe

that classes are being held in gymnasiums and hallways, when many schools do not have enough funds to keep open for the full 180 days a year, when buildings are literally disintegrating before our eyes, when in some cities three elementary school classrooms have to share one set of textbooks, it is fantasy to assume that more standardized testing and national curriculum guidelines are the answer. The ultimate result will be the labeling of students from poverty areas as "stupid" in a way that is seemingly more neutral than the present system because the cultural norms will be hidden in the tests and national curricula that mostly will be determined by dominant groups.

Even worse, all of the blame for poor performance will be heaped on our already overworked and underfunded educators in urban areas and on supposedly uncaring poor parents. How will this be solved? Enter voucher and choice plans—but with even more "neutral evidence" that a publicly funded and controlled education-

al system is a total failure. And under such circumstances it will be even more difficult to argue against the privatizers' steamroller for choice. By letting market forces in through the back door, so to speak, market-oriented approaches coupled with a system of national curricula and national testing would worsen already widespread class and race divisions. "Freedom" and "choice" would be for those who could afford them. "Diversity" in schooling will simply be a more polite word for a sort of educational apartheid.

Britain is already a laboratory where a combination of national curricula, national testing and privatization is going on. There is now considerable evidence that the overall effects of these policies do not change traditional modes of reproducing class and race divisions. Instead, they seem only to legitimize the perpetuation of longstanding structured inequality. The fact that these policies have had immensely negative effects on teachers' working conditions and on their

sense of pride, craft and skill is also worth noting, as is the fact that recently the majority of teachers in England have in essence gone on strike against the tests by refusing to give them to their students.

Perhaps, then, we can take a phrase made famous by the right in another context and apply it to their behind-the-scenes pressure to institute a system of national curricula and national testing. We should "Just say no." ▲

Michael W. Apple is John Bascom professor of education at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

This article is part of a continuing series on education edited by Alex Molnar, a professor of education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The series, "Notes From the Back of the Class," covers a wide range of education-related issues. Contributions from readers are welcome. Manuscripts of no more than 1,000 words should be sent to Alex Molnar, c/o In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

DRAFTING A WILL ?

Please consider
a bequest to the
**Institute
for
Public Affairs**
for **IN THESE TIMES.**

For information, write or call:

Beth Schulman,
Associate Publisher
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647
(312) 772-0100

*If you're sick of pre-digested mainstream news,
maybe it's time you took a look at the alternatives.*



Facts and Fictions about "Free Trade"—A Reader. Discussions about "free trade" have moved to center stage. NAFTA is hot and the vote will go down to the wire. Read this compelling collection of articles and essays by Jim Hightower, Walter Russell Mead, Thea Lee, Bill Greider, Monika Bauerlein, Jonathan Tasini, Bill Clinton, and many more to get the full picture.



Media Culture Review is "a giant step forward in media criticism," according to *The Utne Reader*. MCR offers insightful media criticism and cultural analysis unfiltered by mainstream media. Every issue contains a collection of hard-hitting essays, articles, columns and reviews—some original, and some collected from independent and alternative publications.

Inside the L.A. Riots: What really happened—and why it will happen again. The true story of the civil unrest in Los Angeles and cities across the country. Articles and essays from more than 60 of America's best independent writers and journalists, including June Jordan, Michael Ventura, Rubén Martínez, Jesse Jackson, Doug Ireland, John Judis, and Ice-T.

Published by the Institute for Alternative Journalism (IAJ), a non-profit organization dedicated to strengthening the alternative press and advocating for diverse and independent media voices necessary for a healthy democracy.

	Cost	#	Subtotal
FREE TRADE BOOK	\$15.00		
RIOT BOOK	\$11.95		
\$2 per book postage/handling			
MCR (SIX ISSUES)	\$18.00		
TOTAL			

Name _____
Address _____

Send checks to IAJ, 2025 I Street, NW, #1124, Washington, D.C. 20006

VIEWPOINT

Uncivil society

By John Feffer

From the Hungarian uprising to the Solidarity trade union movement, the struggles of Eastern Europeans in the '80s provided inspiring examples of the extraordinary influence that "ordinary" people can have on the flow of history. Although drawing from varied intellectual and political sources, these movements from below all wished to avoid the evils of contemporary ideological systems and to infuse a higher social responsibility into civic activities, as in Vaclav Havel's exhortation to "live in truth."

Today, sadly, much of the spirit of '89 has dissipated. Most Eastern Europeans are presently living not in truth but in despair. Yugoslavia, as we know, has been torn apart. Racism and xenophobia have surged throughout the region. From Poland to Albania, economies are being cattle-prodded toward capitalism, with the predictable result of rising unemployment, declining living standards and all the proliferating ills of divided societies.

Even democratic elections, those precious victories of 1989, have yielded insulated parliaments and declining voter turnouts, as indifference has rapidly replaced civic activity. Liberal authoritarians—from the increasingly confrontational Boris Yeltsin to the always unpredictable Lech Walesa—

have left Moscow in flames and Warsaw on a political see-saw.

How has the situation managed to take such a turn for the worse?

The most readily identifiable culprit comes from outside the region, from the industrialized world's organizations that control the funds pouring (or not pouring) into the region, always with strings attached—the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

But the blame does not rest entirely on outsiders. The revolutionary movements themselves made choices that guaranteed the worst of all possible worlds: the emerging problems of Western consumerism, the lingering headaches of Soviet-style communism

*In Eastern Europe,
the ideal of a
politically active
citizenry has given
way to a wide-
spread withdrawal
from public life.*

and the convulsive bloodletting of omnipresent chauvinism.

The central political idea of Eastern Europeans prior to 1989 was "civil society," a space independent of official life, an arena that pulsed with citizen action, cultural activity, even economic ventures. Those pre-revolutionary days were filled with unofficial "flying" universities and *samizdat* publications, underground political parties and irreverent cabarets. Ecological groups in Bulgaria, unions in Hungary, guerrilla theater troupes in Poland: these "antipolitical" organizations deliberately avoided formal political participation. But they were political in a broader sense—engaging in protest, re-imagining social life.

Civil society functioned as both a revolutionary tactic and a prefiguring of "society-to-be." In creating an independent space free of government control (though not of harassment), reformers gradually mobilized sophisticated mass movements that toppled regimes throughout Eastern Europe efficiently and, to a remarkable extent, they did so nonviolently.

Unfortunately, however, the alternative society that existed during the pre-1989 era did not translate into a society-to-be. Many of the leaders of the 1989 revolutions, and many of their less-inspired successors, saw the civic activity of the revolutionary days as merely *tactical*, to be called into play for a short time only against a hated regime.

What was less understood was the need not simply to reconstruct government—a task of filling bureaucratic slots, reviving some forgotten ministries, re-establishing a functioning legal system—but to reconstruct *society*. This much larger goal required a continuation of civic activity—of civil society in the broadest sense—not its attenuation.

But the newly anointed political leaders established a technocracy, in part staffed by former government and

party officials. This group of experts set into motion economic reforms that were largely removed from public debate and withheld from public referendum. This brand of reform—a shock therapy devised and directed from above by putative experts—was presented to the people as irreversible and ineluctable. Alternatives were put down as irresponsible and ill-informed.

As a result, in post-revolutionary Eastern Europe, the ideal of a politically active citizenry diminished—much as in our country—into the citizen as mere voter (if that). A gulf opened up between the “ordinary” person and the emerging political expert. The economic sphere, meanwhile, became dominated by the free market, an arena of burgeoning but often illusory choices that contrasted ironically with the shrinking range of economic and political options.

Whatever the political calculations of the new leaderships, the sad fact is that most people in the region have consented to their own withdrawal from public life. After many years of restricted privacy, it is not difficult to understand such an abandonment of the public sphere. But with all the tasks of social reconstruction so in need of energy and attention—from community renewal and social advocacy to political oversight and labor struggles—such apathy is fatal.

The IMF plan of structural adjustment—so familiar to the peoples of other regions of the world—requires just such a limited sense of citizenship. An empowered populace would vote against economic plans clearly opposed to their own interests, but an apathetic public is the perfect accompaniment to top-down economic reform of the shock therapy variety.

The only compelling alternative to this atomistic vision of society now prevalent in Eastern Europe is nationalism. This world-view defines citizenship by blood, soil, language, religion or some combination of these elements and offers a more compelling rationale for civic participation. While it is true that nationalist movements can take a measure of credit for contributing to

the downfall of the region's communist governments and for preserving culture during the homogenizing years of Soviet influence, the current nationalist definitions of citizenship are indeed troubling.

According to the nationalist, a citizen does not have to *do*, simply to *be*. Only when the purity of the society is threatened must the citizen act: men taking up arms, women bearing children. According to the logic of this nation-building, political tasks such as constructing unions, health care facilities, watchdog organizations or recycling centers are secondary. It is naive to suggest that nationalism should not exist. But the polis would be much healthier were the nationalist definition of citizen to merely coexist alongside, rather than obliterate, other definitions.

The nationalist conception of citizenship and that of the international economic community share certain traits, chiefly an incorrigible simple-mindedness. For the nationalist, the citizen can be reduced to genes or some other form of spurious pedigree. For the shock therapist, a citizen is no more than a faceless rational actor, familiar to all readers of economics textbooks. The communities—of blood, of consumerism—provide a curious balance for each other: the nationalist preventing the predations of the international, the international economy eroding the nationalist barriers.

A world given over to this new bipolarism is as unpleasant as the one that shrugged off the dichotomies of the Cold War. For neither of these communities, populated as they are by cardboard citizens, ensures a rich civil society.

Yet civil society is not dead in the region. Trade unions continue to struggle for workers' rights. A new wave of activists is working on behalf of beleaguered minorities. Environmental groups, women's groups and peace groups have reconstituted themselves without anti-communism as their chief objective and are now courageously fighting for better societies.

Throughout the region, citizens are

protesting against both the new political elites and their economic nostrums. Witness the recent elections in Poland and Lithuania in which voters reinstalled the former Communists in power, not because these populations have suddenly decided to embrace communist ideology but because frustration and desperation have driven them to choose the only parties championing their interests. Such are the pragmatic decisions made by an electorate in a democracy.

Meanwhile, in Russia, most of the population is disgusted with the polarization of politics that led to the recent White House confrontation. If not offered sensible economic reform and a real opportunity to participate in its formation and implementation, Russians will abandon Yeltsin's form of liberal authoritarianism and turn to a pure and simple nationalist authoritarianism, of the variety now flourishing in Georgia, Moldova and parts of Central Asia.

The former Communists, the liberal authoritarians and the ethno-nationalists: heaven help the democracy that provides choices only between these groups. The need for democratic movements that fundamentally respect human rights but listen very skeptically to the advice of international financial institutions has never been greater in the region.

Such a task will therefore require a citizenry more attuned to global problems, one that conceives of economic reform as a democratic process and not simply the juggling of economic indicators by a well-trained and articulate elite, one that recognizes political action as a continuing responsibility rather than a means of last resort or a once-a-year trip to the ballot box. ◀

John Feffer is the author, most recently, of *Shock Waves: Eastern Europe after the Revolutions* (South End Press). An earlier version of this article appeared in *Global Visions: Beyond the New World Order*, a collection of essays edited by Jeremy Brecher, John Brown Childs and Jill Cutler (South End Press). (For ordering information, call 1-800-533-8478.)

I N T H E A R T S

Spinema vérité

About halfway through

The War Room, a documentary about the 1992 Clinton campaign, there's an extraordinary scene in which the honchos of the candidate's staff put the finishing touches on a TV spot for their man. The commercial is designed to remind voters of George Bush's infamous "read my lips" promise.

The debate in Clinton's "war room," where the consultants not the candidate shape his image, is entirely concerned with the nuances of how many times to repeat "read my lips" and whether to have the announcer say "no," "no, sir!" or "uh-uh" before closing the commercial with the line, "This time we read the record."

The scene is a vivid reminder of the degree to which modern campaigns are disconnected from questions of policy and gover-

nance. It's also a funny and seductively intimate peek at history on the hoof. And it's got a star of Hollywood proportions—James Carville, Clinton's chief strategist.

It's Louisiana-born Carville, with the face of an apprehensive elf and a motor-mouth drawl, who in that scene coaxes his "media people" on the other end of the speaker phone to go along with his last-minute fine tuning of the spot. He's smart, witty and philosophical—but at heart he's just a good ol' boy. He's generous with praise to his staff, but he also clearly relishes twisting the media knife into Bush. Carville generally comes off as a camera subject no camera (and tape recorder) can get enough of.

But Carville proves to be a slippery subject for filmmakers D.A. Pennebaker and his wife, Chris Hegedus. Pennebaker is most famous for the film portrait of Bob Dylan, *Don't Look Back*, and for his role in establishing *cinéma vérité* in the United States. A French documentary movement of the '50s, *cinéma vérité* sought to manipulate reality as little as possible, to catch it fresh and whole. Its ideas

migrated to these shores in the '60s as "direct cinema," whose leading proponents were Robert Drew, Ricky Leacock and Pennebaker. Its subject was often politics.

But times have changed, and now the political image-makers seem quite capable of using even the cool editorial eye of *cinéma vérité* for their own purposes. It appears that in this film Pennebaker and Hegedus succumbed to Carville's Cajun charm, and to the poised sincerity of boyish George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's director of communication.

Carville and to a lesser degree Stephanopoulos are responsible for whatever success the film will have, and the credits (which manage to misspell the name of benefactor Martin Scorsese), implicitly acknowledge that. Carville and Stephanopoulos are listed under "cast" and given special billing above the rest of the staff.

Clinton, by comparison, is just a visitor in *The War Room*, and a pale presence indeed compared to Carville and his co-star. The film's producers, R. J. Cutler and Wendy Ettinger, initially set out to follow a candidate through the election process, but no one was quite stupid enough to grant them access.

The Clinton campaign initially said yes, then no, and ended up acquiescing in their request to follow the



The War Room
Directed by D.A. Pennebaker and Chris Hegedus

The War Room
set out to capture the truth about political image-makers. But truth proved no match for the spin doctors.

By Pat Dowell

candidate's staff with cameras and microphone for a *cinéma vérité* portrait of modern electioneering. Pennebaker and Hegedus joined the staff around the time of the Democratic National Convention, and followed them right through to election night. *The War Room* is a chronicle of countless phone calls and meetings, studded with glimpses of the media coverage that is ultimately the end product of all the energy expended by these shrewd and, yes, personable, professionals.

The directors also use material contributed by another filmmaker, Kevin Rafferty, to fill in the gaps of their story at its beginning during the New Hampshire primary. From Rafferty's film, *Feed*, they use outtakes of the staff and the candidate. They also use news coverage to chronicle the tough crisis-to-crisis primary campaign that Clinton fought. The infamous Gennifer Flowers press conference is preserved for posterity, including the immortal question asked of Flowers by a Howard Stern plant, "Did he wear a condom?"

Pennebaker and Hegedus don't use any of the stuff that made Rafferty's deliciously wicked documentary such a startling pleasure to watch. *Feed* consisted almost entirely of those slack-jawed moments when candidates are prepped just before their TV appearances on distant stations—when TV satellites are transmitting but the receiving station hasn't begun to broadcast the candidate's image. Most of these guys weren't just caught off guard by Rafferty, but off entirely, like machines switched off, cars in neutral, screens gone blank.

Some people claimed it wasn't fair to the politicians, but it sure was funny and Rafferty caught something basic and radical about our media age and the hollowness of politics and its people. *Feed* makes *The War Room* look almost old-fashioned in the way that Pennebaker and Hegedus cling to personalities. Especially when you consider that these are personalities who spend every waking moment with an eye on the public presentation of self. It's impossible to believe they aren't as shrewdly manufactured as their candidate, no matter how candid they appear in the film.

Carville, for instance, comes off as a populist rather than a cynical hired gun. And yet we know that he has spent the last few months positioning his most recent client, Jim Florio, as far to the right as a New Jersey Democrat could go



on social issues. The film never catches Carville in an uncharismatic moment.

George Stephanopoulos is not so lucky. In one phone call he oozes courteous menace as he smoothly squelches yet another impending story of Clinton's sexual misbehavior. And in *The War Room*'s most genuinely chilling scene, Stephanopoulos, deep in the crowd outside the Little Rock governor's mansion on election night, speaks on a cellular phone to the president-elect about his acceptance speech.

"We really want you to say whatever you wanna say tonight, but you just gotta be careful about being too programmatic," George says to Bill. "Programmatic," I imagine, is a euphemism for talking about actual policies.

Stephanopoulos continues, "I mean, you should definitely be a New Democrat, and we love Hillary's New Patriotism thing." He ends up by reassuring Clinton, "Speak from your heart tonight. That's all that matters." Right.

It's a cardinal rule of *cinéma vérité* (if not politics as it is currently practiced) that the people and the events speak for themselves, without narration or interview questions to reveal an authorial presence. Which is to say, of course, that *cinéma vérité* presents the most subtle of illusions—that what you're watching is real or, pardon the expression, true.

The War Room thus scrupulously avoids editorial attitude, until perhaps its last shot, which is a freeze frame on that famous sign in the Little Rock war room that lists the rules of the game. "The economy, stupid" is the one that people remember, but at the top of the list is the one that seems more significant now that Clinton is in office: "Change is more of the same." ◀

IN PRINT

Dreaming in Puerto Rican

By Ilan Stavans

When the collection of stories *The Boy Without a Flag*, by the young South-Bronx writer Abraham Rodriguez Jr., was published last year, one enthusiastic critic described it as “the most nervy, anxious and brilliant writing by a New York-Puerto Rican author since Piri Thomas’ *Down These Mean Streets*.” In itself, such a remark says very little, simply because fewer than a dozen authors of Puerto Rican background have published fiction in English since Thomas’ classic fictional memoir first appeared in 1967—even though some 2.2 million Puerto Ricans live on the U.S. mainland. Most of these writers have gotten very little attention and only a few ever published a second book. Among Latino authors writing in English, Cuban-American writers, from Oscar Hijuelos to Cristina Garcia, are more influential, and Mexican-American writers are far more numerous.

Simple numerical comparisons are, of course, unfair. Many of the Puerto Rican authors, though neglected, are quite impressive. Besides, all it takes is one extraordinary pen to make us perceive reality in a different light—and Rodriguez, at his best, can unsettle our conventional assumptions.

Linguistically, writers with residence on this shore can be divided into three groups: those who (involuntarily or by choice) embraced English as their creative language; those who didn’t; and those, a solid number, who find themselves oscillating between one vehicle of communication and the other. While some critics would hesitate to include him, William Carlos Williams, the child of a Puerto Rican mother and an English father raised in the Caribbean, exemplifies the first group, alongside Nicholasa Mohr, Judith Ortiz-Cofer and Edwin Torres. In the second group, one can find Luis Rafael Sánchez, author of the outstanding novel *Macho Camacho’s Beat*. The third group, in

the linguistic interstices between two cultures, includes Ed Vega, who has written novels in English and Spanish (or Spanglish), alongside “Nuyorican” writers Miguel Algarín and Miguel Piñero.

Such a cultural abyss separates these traditions, such a profound sense of misunderstanding and betrayal, that I am tempted to portray them as triplets separated at birth, each reacting to a different aesthetic, to divergent political and sociological stimuli, united only by their shared love-hate relationship toward New York and an often bizarre nostalgia.

The forefather of the mainland Puerto Ricans is long-time progressive columnist and political activist Jesús Colón, a figure central not only to this branch of literature but to the development of ethnic politics in New York City in the ’40s. His best-known book, *A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches* (first published in 1961), remains a dazzling portrait of the community’s difficult assimilation into the American Dream.

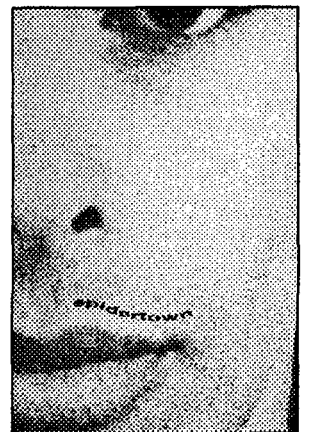
During the years when Colón was active (in literature and in politics), Spanish-language Puerto Rican authors—including René Marqués, Bernardo Vega, Pedro Juan Solo and José Luis González—left their imprint in memoirs, long narratives and short fiction. But it was Colón who switched to English, thus earning the reputation among some peers as a sellout.

From this generation as well emerged Piri Thomas, born in 1928 and raised in New York’s barrio, who remains widely read for his remarkable descriptions of drug addiction and crime; and Nicholasa Mohr, whose books, from *Nilda* to *Rituals of Survival: A Woman’s Portfolio*, have turned her into one of the most sought-after Puerto Rican literary figures and a role model for the current Latino literary renaissance.

Among those Puerto Rican authors writing in English, my own tastes lean toward Edward Rivera, the author of *Family Installments*, an enchanting account of growing up Hispanic in the United States. Rivera is to Hispanics what Henry Roth is to Jews: a masterful one-book chronicler of childhood life.

Rivera is the link to the new generation: Abraham Rodriguez Jr., born in 1961, studied under Rivera at New York’s City College, devoting his adolescent energy to stories about Nazis and World War II until Rivera convinced him to switch to a topic closer to home—his own personal experience as a child of the South Bronx.

While not a literary genius, Rodriguez is, indeed, a nervy



Spidertown

By Abraham Rodriguez Jr.
Hyperion Books
323 pp., \$19.95

writer. His distinct, courageous voice first emerged in *The Boy Without a Flag*, a display of artistic bravado and immature narrative control that will remain a compass for his future work. The book, comprised of seven stories of varying caliber, opens with a revealing epigram from John Dos Passos' *The Big Money*: "The language of the beaten nation is not forgotten in our ears tonight." In one of the stories a teenage mother leaves her new-born baby alone as a sign of rebellion against the irresponsible father; in another, with clearly autobiographical undertones, the son of a frustrated *independentista* poet in New York refuses to salute the American flag in school.

While the writing is inconsistent, the subject matter is gut-wrenching: the plight of dispossessed Puerto Ricans, only partially at home in the United States, forgotten by society. Rodriguez' exaggerated realism—with its harsh street jargon and disreputable cast of characters, including junkies, dealers, pregnant girls and prison inmates—has invited criticism from other Puerto Rican literati, apparent both in the open attacks upon him issuing from some quarters and the uncompromising silences of others. Mohr, for example, has pointedly refused to acknowledge Rodriguez' presence on the literary scene; Ed Vega, once a friend and supporter, has accused Rodriguez of benefiting from the exploitation of stereotypes.

Rodriguez' second book, *Spidertown*, is an artistic breakthrough, showing a stamina equal to that of his first book but a considerably more balanced style. Written in broken English to recreate the violent reality of crack addicts, arsonists and other criminals, it follows the life of Miguel, a runner who works for the crack kingpin Spider, as he tries to distance himself from the milieu that made him rich. A couple of stories in *The Boy Without a Flag*, "Babies" and "Birthday Boy," clearly foreshadow what was to come: the former uses the broken English Rodriguez would perfect in the novel ("I don spee English lie ju. Soy hispano puñeta"); and the latter includes characters like the disoriented teenage narrator and Spider, a crack lord—both later developed into well-rounded fictional creatures.

By the end, *Spidertown* becomes a predictable *Bildungsroman* in which love and morality provide the keys with which to exit the labyrinth. Dialogue is Rodriguez' clear strength, and he lingers long on conversations—which slows down the plot, but allows for an extraordinary study of the linguistic cadence of English-speaking Puerto Ricans. Sold already to a Hollywood studio and generating the type of interest shown few members of the Puerto Rican literati, *Spidertown* is a remarkable work by a promising writer.

Puerto Rico, it has been suggested, is a four-layered country: first came the black and *mestizo* peasantry; then, during the colonial period, came a new class of white immigrants, encouraged to settle in Puerto Rico in an attempt to "whiten" the population in the wake of black uprisings in Haiti during the early 1800s. Afterwards came the third and fourth layers: an urban professional class and a managerial class that flourished thanks to the Luis Muñoz



Marín economic policies of the '40s.

Young Puerto Ricans
in Chicago

The waves of Puerto Rican immigrants to the U.S. mainland in the '50s and '60s were rural *jibaros* looking for better jobs and opportunities; they found themselves facing cultural dislocation as well. Trapped in a tapestry of disgraces, they are incapable of articulating a self-redeeming identity; if asked, they might argue that their Puerto Ricanness is a terrible injury. Their ties to the Caribbean island are diffuse. Descendants of idealist *jibaros* of humble origins, they have lost touch with themselves and are often treated as "human trash" by the rest of America. And that, precisely, is the reality Rodriguez' characters inhabit. As John Sayles claims, his are the type of "people you might cross the street to avoid meeting."

Rodriguez is a writer to watch. While his art is still in formation, he shows great talent, and could develop into a distinguished voice. He, like few others, might even force us to reconsider our appreciation of mainland U.S. Puerto Ricans as a whole and, by the same token, bring their literary tradition to a new fruition.

Ilan Stavans teaches at Amherst College and is the editor of *Tropical Synagogues: Stories by Jewish-Latin American Writers* (Holmes & Meier). He has just finished a new book, *The Hispanic Condition*, which is forthcoming from HarperCollins.

La violencia

By Erich Hahn

The magnitude of the atrocities that have formed the social and political landscape in Guatemala over the last three decades strains even a sympathetic imagination. Victor Perera's *Unfinished Conquest* provides a comprehensive overview of what must be regarded as one of the most underreported wars of recent times. For although Guatemala is the most populous of the six Central American republics and the recipient of a significant amount of U.S. military aid, it has been conspicuously neglected by the U.S. media. The publication of Perera's book—combining reportage, personal narrative and ethnographic investigation—helps to break this silence.

Perera begins his book by evoking the eerie calm of life among the garbage dumps of Guatemala City. He describes a Mayan woman, driven from her home in the mountains by years of indiscriminate "counterinsurgency" raids by the military, reduced to picking over the refuse of an urban material culture for her sustenance and livelihood. This image is a painfully appropriate summary of the latest campaign in the "unfinished conquest" of indigenous populations by Western and Northern greed.

There are two Spanish words important to an understanding of the unfinished conquest: the transitive verb *desaparecer*, to disappear someone, or to be disappeared, and the noun *la violencia*. The reader is introduced to the terms very early on. "One comes back always," Perera remarks, "to the violence." And, indeed, it must be hard to avoid in a country that accounts for 45 percent of Latin America's disappeared and in which 60,000 people were murdered between 1980 and 1985.

Perera is no supporter of any of the rebel guerrilla organizations, and in fact argues that they "must bear responsibility for jeopardizing the lives of thousands of native Guatemalans who believed their impossible promises of swift victory over their oppressors and redress of their cen-

turies-old grievances." But it has been the Guatemalan army that has been responsible for the most heinous violence. Asked why her community has been subject to such treatment by the army, one village woman tending crops in a communal field remarked simply: "That is what the army does."

U.S. interests have been, throughout the century, critical influences on developments in Guatemala. Since the CIA-assisted overthrow of a reformist president in 1954 (whose transgressions against U.S. interests included the redistribution of untitled United Fruit Company holdings to landless peasants), nine increasingly brutal military dictatorships have held power with the support of U.S. funding, supplies and training. Most Guatemalan military officers have been trained in the United States. There was a brief respite from the direct U.S. military aid under Carter (a trading opportunity quickly taken up by Taiwan, Israel and Argentina), but aid was promptly resumed again under Reagan and increased under Bush—and remains largely intact under Clinton.


Other U.S. interests have been instrumental in effecting a less violent but equally sweeping and disruptive transformation of indigenous culture. U.S.-based Pentecostal and fundamentalist sects have succeeded in converting approximately one-third of Guatemala's population over the last 20 years, including two recent presidents. Perera points out that the evangelical sects, while not immune to army persecution, tend to maintain far better relations with the military than the Catholic Church, which after the intensification of *la violencia* in the mid-'70s began to shed its traditional conservatism to embrace liberation theology.

So many people in Guatemala have seen so much death, so much torture and suffering, so much destruction, that a few have come to long for their own death as an end to the torture of living. Much that Perera relates makes such despair perfectly comprehensible. Almost harder to understand are all those who find the courage and strength not only to go on but to resist, to insist on justice. Their lives form the subtext that run through Perera's story, helping to hold the country together and providing a measure of hope for the future. ◀



**Unfinished Conquest:
The Guatemalan Tragedy**
By Victor Perera
Photos by Daniel Chauche
University of California Press
382 pp., \$25.00

Erich Hahn is the Midwest regional organizer for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).



A lifeline linking caring women everywhere.

Discover *Ms.* as it was meant to be: reader supported, reader responsive, and international in scope. With 100 pages of fresh, frank editorial in every issue, it's a *Ms.* of substance, sustenance and spirit—devoted to supporting you! Join us as a Supporting Subscriber.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER
1 YEAR ^(6 big issues) **\$35**
Regular subscription price \$45.

Canada: \$42.

Foreign:

☐ Surface mail \$42

☐ Airmail \$73

Payment must be
in U.S. currency.

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____ **SAD33**

Ms. The no-advertising,
editorially free magabook.

Mail to *Ms.*, P.O. Box 57132, Boulder, CO 80322-7132.

Tired of the Heritage Foundation's point of view?

Become a charter subscriber to **COUNTERPUNCH**
 A new Washington, D.C.-based newsletter sponsored by the
Institute for Policy Studies

Coming in January

Edited by Ken Silverstein, a contributor to publications such as
In These Times and *The Nation*, *Counterpunch* will provide behind-
 the-scenes reporting on what's really happening in Washington.

"Silverstein's own work has been outstanding, what he is doing is
 badly needed. I'm looking forward to it with much anticipation."

—Noam Chomsky

SUBSCRIBE NOW

___\$40 (1 year, 22 issues) ___\$100 (1 year, institution/sustainer)

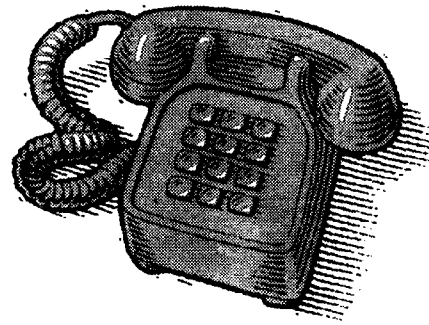
___\$100 (supporter) ___\$250 (sustainer)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make check out to: "IPS Newsletter Project." Send to:
 Institute for Policy Studies, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW,
 Washington, D.C. 20009. All contributions tax deductible



HELLO, HILLARY?

RECENTLY, thousands of our customers called
 Hillary Rodham Clinton to express their views
 on health care—and didn't pay a dime.

We're Working Assets Long Distance. Every
 Monday we pay for our customers' calls to
 government and corporate leaders. Because we
 believe free speech should *truly* be free.

Of course, we also save you money on calls to
 ordinary folks. And every time you use our fiber
 optic lines, we *send* money to groups that fight
 for social and environmental progress...at no
 cost to you. (So far we've given over \$2
 million to groups that lobby Hillary and
 other powers-that-be.)

So join our network (now over 100,000
 strong) and let us make *your* voice heard where
 and when it counts. On our dime, not yours.

WORKING ASSETS®

Long Distance

1-800-CITIZEN

©Working Assets 8/93

413

EVERY TIME YOU USE AN *In THESE TIMES* MASTERCARD CARD, ITT RECEIVES 15¢

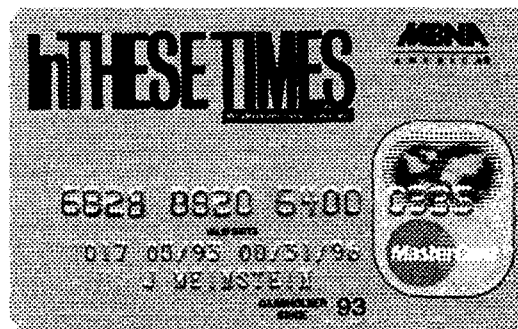
Put your credit card to work for *In THESE TIMES* at no additional cost to you. The magazine receives \$1.50 when you sign up and 15¢ for every charge you make, no matter what the amount of the charge. So put your credit card to good use. Sign up today.

Enjoy the advantages of the *In THESE TIMES* Gold MasterCard without risk... It is issued absolutely free of an annual fee for one full year.[†] Other features include a line of credit up to \$50,000, immediate cash availability and Premium Buyer's Protection.

Extensive travel benefits and services provided at no extra cost, include*:

- Up to \$1,000,000 Common Carrier Travel Accident Insurance
- Supplemental Auto Rental Collision/Loss Damage Insurance
- Up to \$3,000 Supplemental Lost Luggage Protection
- Emergency Cash & Airline Tickets

MBNA America® is one of the world's leading issuers of credit cards. Committed to servicing our members' needs, MBNA America® offers cardholders 24-hour-year-round Customer Satisfaction, one hour processing for credit line increase requests, a lost card registration service and an emergency replacement card service.



[†]17.9% Annual Percentage Rate. \$40 Annual Fee for the Gold MasterCard and \$20 for the Silver MasterCard waived the first year. Transaction Fee For Bank and ATM Cash advances: 2% of each Cash Advance (\$2 Minimum, \$25 Maximum); Transaction Fee For Premium Access Checks® and Preferred Access Checks® Cash Advances: 1% of each Cash Advance (\$2 Minimum, \$10 Maximum). Late Payment Fee: \$15. Over-The-Credit-Limit-Fee: \$15.

*Certain restrictions apply to these benefits. The summary of credit card benefits accompanying the credit card Premium Access Checks® and Preferred Access Checks® describes coverage terms, conditions and limitations.

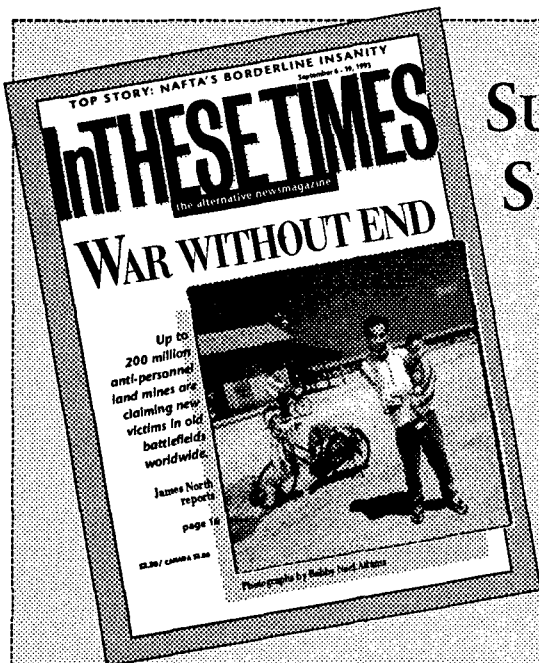
MBNA America® and Premium Access Checks® are federally registered Service Marks of MBNA America Bank, N.A. The account is issued and administered by MBNA America Bank, N.A. MasterCard® is a federally registered Service Mark of MasterCard International, Inc., used pursuant to license. The information about the cost of the card described above is accurate as of 2/93, to find out what may have changed call 1-800-847-7378 ext. 5000. © 1993 MBNA America Bank, N.A.

CALL NOW TO APPLY!

24 hours a day, 7 days a week

1-800-847-7378 ext. 5000

Be sure to use this priority code when calling: KZPU.



SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

☐ **NEW SUBSCRIPTION.**
(You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks. Please check price and terms below.)
AST1

☐ **RENEW ME NOW.**
(We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you any worries about expiring and saves us the money in sending renewal notices and bills.)
ART1

I AM: _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ **MOVING:** (allow 4-6 weeks for change.)

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ **WHAT A GREAT GIFT IDEA!**

(Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it. Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name here.) XSTH1

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICES & TERMS

☐ One year, 26 issues: \$34.95 ☐ Six months, 13 issues: \$18.95 ☐ Institutional, one year: \$59.00

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me ☐ Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MC

ACCOUNT NUMBER / EXPIRATION DATE _____

For orders to Canada, add: \$27.50 (one year), \$13.50 (six months) for postage. All other foreign orders add: \$41.00 (one year), \$20.50 (six months).
Mail to: *IN THESE TIMES* Customer Service, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. 1-800-827-0270.

C L A S S I F I E D S

▶ HELP WANTED

DIRECTOR, POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES. Political Research Associates, located in Cambridge, Mass., is currently searching for a new Director. The Director works with a staff of three, and has primary responsibility for fundraising, administration, and political vision for the organization. Political Research Associates is a 12-year-old research and activist center that monitors right-wing and anti-democratic organizations and trends. The activities of the organization include maintaining an archive of primary and secondary material on the right wing, publishing in several formats, filling information requests from individuals and organizations across the country, working with the media and publishing a newsletter titled "The Public Eye." Responsibilities: to oversee the management of the organization, working with the staff and the Board of Directors to set direction and determine progress in public education and social change goals; to represent and promote PRA's work, including public speaking, networking with colleagues across the country, and occasional media appearances; and responsibility for raising the organization's annual budget of approximately \$200,000 from foundations, individuals and the general public. Qualifications: commitment to the mission of PRA, including a history of work in related fields, broadly defined; demonstrated ability to fundraise from foundations and individual donors; experience in management of

an organization of similar size, using a cooperative style of leadership; and Ph.D. in the social sciences desirable, but not required. Salary is negotiable within the range of \$38,000 to \$42,000. Benefits include four weeks paid vacation annually, plus health and dental insurance. Application deadline: Oct. 31, 1993. Target starting date: Jan. 2, 1994. Search Committee, Political Research Associates, 678 Massachusetts Ave., Suite 702, Cambridge, MA 02139. Tel: (617) 661-9313, FAX: (617) 661-0059. Political Research Associates is an equal opportunity employer. People of color and women are strongly urged to apply.

ORGANIZER/REPRESENTATIVE wanted for New York-area labor union. Applicants must be bilingual in Spanish and English and live in New York City area. Labor or community organizing background important. Send résumé and references to: **UNION JOB, IN THESE TIMES**, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job list-

EDITOR OF THE METRO TIMES The Metro Times seeks candidates w/ at least five years management experience, people skills and news reporting roots to edit growing alternative weekly. Position includes salary, health care plan and corporate profit sharing. Send resume and salary requirement to Ron Williams, The Metro Times, 743 Beaubien, Detroit, MI 48226. Equal opportunity employer.

Experience! World Unity Inspite of Diversity! Free Catalog. LOTUS LIGHT, P.O. Box 325 TT, Twin Lakes, WI 53181.

CAXTON BOOKSEARCH. Box 220, Ellison Bay, WI 54210. We'll order or search any book, (800) 288-7724.

"BOY INTO MAN: A Fathers' Guide to Initiation of Teenage Sons," by Bernard Weiner. With script, photos, ceremonial rituals. \$9.95, \$2 tax/shipping. Transformation Press, 197 Bonview, Box T, San Francisco, CA 94110.

▶ PUBLICATIONS

THE CATALOG OF ALTERNATIVES. A catalog with a conscience. Videos, books and words to live by. Wishful Thinking? Video, P.O. Box 296, Florham Park, NJ 07932.

LOVE TRAVELING? Become an independent Travel Consultant. Excellent profits from home. Insider's guide reveals how. Rush \$16.00 to: Zen Tours, Dept-T4, Box 38805, Colorado Springs, CO 80937.

JEWISH CURRENTS November, 1993 issue

"Peace Process Speeds Up", editorial; "Jewish Books for Young Readers", Jane E. Schofer; "Samuel Ornitiz" Haunch, Paunch and Jowl at 70, John L. Simon; celebrations of Moishe Nadir and Abraham Sutzkever.

Single issue: \$2 plus 75¢.
Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 St.
New York, NY 10003

▶ BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK Available again! \$25 ppd. Barricade Books, Box 1401J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

COSMIC CONSCIOUSNESS, Teleportation, Superbrain function. Incredible Inquiry Catalog. (Stamps) P.O. Box 2207, Garden Valley, ID 83622.

SRI AUROBINDO BOOKS: Integrate Spirit and Matter! Reconcile Religion and Science! Augment Intellect with

AUTHORS WANTED

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and religious works, etc. Send for booklet Z-89. New authors welcomed. Vantage Press, 516 W 34 St., New York, NY 10001.

Thomas Paine and the American Revolution

By Carl Shapiro

Address delivered at the Thomas Paine National Historical Association, New Rochelle, N.Y., Annual Birthday Celebration, January 29, 1969

This expressive, informative speech was called by Florence Stapleton, principal director of the Thomas Paine National Historical Association: "The best speech ever given at the Association." READ BY THE AUTHOR.

APPROX. RUNNING TIME, 25 minutes
Audiocassette - \$7.50 ppd. (USA)

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS
PO BOX 102, Ridgefield, NJ 07657

Political and Social Satire!

Music for the Mentally Restless...

Blomberg & Mahaffey

Great Entertainment for Occasions Left of Center
414-962-5089



PEOPLE AGAINST RACIST TERROR: bimonthly journal. Sample \$2, subscription \$7.50. PART, Box 1990-ITT, Burbank, CA 91507.

1994 LABOR HISTORY CALENDAR. 14 photos, \$7.50. IWW, Box 204, Oak Park IL 60303.

HOW CAN WE LIVE HAPPILY? by E. Haldeman-Julius. A brilliant, modern, practical interpolation of the Epicurean philosophy that happiness is the chief aim of life, by the late publisher of the famous Little Blue Books. Edited and read by Carl Shapiro. AUDIOCASSETTE. Approx. 35 mins., \$7.50 ppd. (USA).

THE OLD FART: A magazine for and by curmudgeons. Send \$10 cheque for a one-year subscription to this quarterly publication to: Box 83509,

199 Avenue Rd. Toronto, Canada M5R 3S2 (Tel/FAX 416-975-2614) or send \$20, one for yourself and one for your favorite curmudgeon.

► EDUCATION

LIKE TO READ? Let's talk. 125 students, ages 15 to 50+, discuss in tiny classes. Private, independent. Accredited. Shimer College, Box A-500, Waukegan, IL 60079, (708) 623-8400.

BECOME A DIFFERENT KIND OF LAWYER! 20 years of experience. We prepare you to work in environmental law, civil rights, immigration law, labor law and police misconduct. PEOPLES COLLEGE OF LAW now accepting applications (800) 747-6245, extension 40057.

► TRAVEL

EUROPE— only \$169 from East Coast! \$269 from West Coast. \$229-Midwest (when available) NY-LA/SF either way,

\$129. LA-Hawaii \$129. Special fares NY-Chicago, Miami or San Juan. AIRHITCH, (212) 864-2000.

EcoTravel ABROAD. Free resource catalog: Transitions Abroad, Box 1300-3710, Amherst, MA 01004-1300.

JOIN THE 1993 WOMEN'S PEACE DELEGATION TO PALESTINE & ISRAEL December 8 - 24. Meet with Palestinian women, experience daily life under occupation, network with Israeli women activists. Contact: Middle East Children's Alliance, 2140 Shattuck Ave., Rm. 207, Berkeley, CA 94704 (510) 548-0542.

► HEALTH

ABORTING OURSELVES SAFELY! Sources of information on Menstrual Extraction, herbal and vitamin abortions, etc. \$5/SASE: Autonomy, Box 591, Chilmark, MA 02535.

AMAZON MEDICINE/VISIONARY PLANTS, Literature/Art/Elixirs. \$1/info. ROSETTA, P.O. Box 4611 Dept. IT, Berkeley, CA 94704-0611.

► ASSOCIATIONS

SCIENTIFIC UNIONISTS FOR TOTAL SOCIALISM. Write DDEC, P.O. Box 3744-T, Grand Rapids, MI 49501-3744. **SMASH POVERTY!** American Party, P. O. Box 14011, North Palm Beach, FL 33408.

THE HUMAN ECOLOGY PARTY—a wholistic political party dedicated to "Health and Freedom for All." To learn more, send \$1.00 to H.E.P., 20

Sunnyside, A-156, Mill Valley, CA 94941, (415) 381-2357.

► FOR RENT

CHICAGO—SMALL OFFICE SPACE available for business or personal use. \$150/month includes utilities. Use of office equipment negotiable. Call Jim Weinstein at (312) 772-0100.

SANCTUARY FOR RENT. Pennsylvania farmhouse on 100 acres for writers or thinkers, \$400 week / \$1000 month. (215) 233-3981.

► PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES Newsletter links singles concerned about environment, peace, social justice, gender equality, personal growth. Nationwide. All ages. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

ARTISTIC CONNECTIONS—Linking single lovers of the arts. Nationwide. Write IT, Box 116, Chatham, NJ 07928.

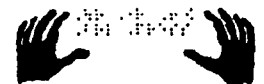
SINGLE? INTO OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES? Join us! Nationwide. Information: Natural Connections, Box 655-IT, Pomona, NY 10970.

PAPER FANTASIES MAGAZINE where imaginations meet. Find friends who share your creative interests., SASE: PF-7, Box 269, Loughman, FL 33858-0269.

► MISCELLANEOUS

ALL ABOUT THE SCIENCE OF DOWSING—Instructional Books, Videotape Workshop, Dowsing Instruments. Write LIFE UNDERSTANDING FOUNDATION, PO Box 30305-B, Santa Barbara, CA 93130. Phone (805) 682-5151.

Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, **FI - FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL**, a quarterly review of minority and independent publications, includes selected articles from **IN THESE TIMES**. Produced by Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription costs \$5.

Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.
640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217
(313) 842-1804

Can you read some **Spanish?**

Learn MORE reading the news in **Perspectiva magazine**

JUST \$18 FOR 12 ISSUES, \$32 FOR 24 ISSUES (CANADA/MEXICO: \$25 OTHERS: \$35 U.S.)

Bilingual glossary in every issue. All articles in intermediate Spanish. Monthly features: world/national news, science, ecology, culture, travel & more! **FREE** for new subscribers: *Spanish Grammar at a Glance*. Sample: \$2 prepaid.

EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
Box 177(ITT), So. Hadley, MA 01075
PHONE ORDERS: (413) 538-7127
FAX (413) 534-1712

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word / 1-2 issues
85¢ per word / 3-5 issues
80¢ per word / 6-9 issues
75¢ per word / 10-19 issues
65¢ per word / 20+ issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch / 1-2 issues
\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch / 20+ issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Send your copy, coupon, and payment to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads,
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

BECOME AN In THESE TIMES SUSTAINER

Our sustainers actively support *In These Times* by donating on a monthly or quarterly basis. Plus, all new sustainers receive two free six-month gift subscriptions! Sustainers who pledge a minimum of \$10 per month or \$25 per quarter also receive their *In These Times* subscription free of charge. For information contact:

Beth Schulman, ITT
2040 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60647
312-772-0100

I'm not a leftist, but I play one on TV.



When Al Hunt, Washington bureau chief of the *Wall Street Journal*, represents the left on national television, you know something is seriously skewed. The same goes for Michael Kinsley, who weighs in nightly "from the left" on CNN *Crossfire*. And then there's Mark Shields on CNN and PBS.

Journalistic Counterfeits

It's a racket: TV public affairs programs routinely serve up narrow "debates" pitting rabid right-wingers against mushy moderates who purportedly speak for "the left." Hunt, Kinsley, Shields, ABC's Sam Donaldson... they're part of the hot-air brigade of mostly white, male pundits who are so immersed in the system, and so cozy with the political and corporate interests controlling it, that they rarely offend the powers that be.

Yet they're on TV appearing as leftists, even though none of them are forceful advocates for the broad social movements—feminism, civil rights, labor, ecology, consumer rights, etc.—that comprise the American left. On the contrary, these pundits often reserve their sharpest barbs for progressive causes.

Magazine Blows the Whistle on Censorship

With articulate progressives locked out of national debates, what passes for news and discussion on American television is nothing less than consumer fraud. It's tantamount to censorship and it stunts the political imagination of the country!

If you are fed up with right-wing bigots and back-peddling centrists monopolizing the airwaves, then you'll want to read *EXTRA!*, the award-winning magazine published by "one of the most important pro-democracy projects in the United States." That's how Barbara Ehrenreich described FAIR, the media watch group which recently made headlines when we released our report on "The Broken Promise of Public Television" in *EXTRA!*

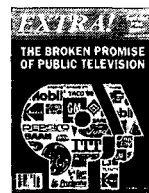
Subscribe to *EXTRA!* and month after month you'll receive a lively, provocative roundup of what's fair and

what's flawed with today's news reporting. An antidote to disinformation overload, *EXTRA!* pinpoints bias, inaccuracies and censorship in a concise, well-documented and cheeky format.

Report and Book **FREE** to In These Times Readers

Subscribe now at the special discount rate of \$25 and you'll receive a full year of *EXTRA!*—plus you'll get **FREE OF CHARGE** our controversial report on public television and a copy of the new 260-page book.

Adventures in Medialand: Behind the News, Beyond the Pundits by FAIR executive director Jeff Cohen and syndicated columnist Norman Solomon (with an introduction by Molly Ivins). Long-time *EXTRA!* reader Ralph Nader called *Adventures in Medialand* a "head-shaking, sobering trip into the Fourth Estate." Call 1-800-874-3993 and get something *EXTRA!* today!



Yes! I want to take advantage of this special offer:

- ✓ A year's worth of *EXTRA!*.....\$30- \$25
- ✓ FAIR's Report on PBS.....\$5- FREE
- ✓ *Adventures in Medialand*.....\$12- FREE

Total cost\$45...\$25

Call **1-800-847-3993** and use your MasterCard or Visa. Just mention the ad in *In These Times* and you'll get a subscription to *EXTRA!*, FAIR's report on public television and *Adventures in Medialand* for only \$25.

Or send check or money order to FAIR/*EXTRA!*, P.O. Box 911, Dept. V3MT, Pearl River, NY 10965.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

General  **Destruction, Inc. Arms Manufacturer**
 "Feeding at the public trough since 1913"

CONFIDENTIAL

INTERNAL MEMO

RE: Sales to new "nations"

BACKGROUND: With decline in Pentagon orders, emerging "nations" constitute important new markets for GD-manufactured armaments. Such nations have already proven reliable purchasers of small arms. GD analysts project that, with encouragement, they could eventually outstrip even Mideast nations in purchases of such large-ticket items as aircraft.

CONCLUSION: Developing these markets should be a top priority.

PROBLEMS: Major hurdles now are: 1) U.S. laws that limit nations' ability to exercise full capabilities as arms consumers, and 2) public reticence about such weapons transfers.

SOLUTIONS:

1) **Congressional action.** General Destruction PAC has crafted legislation that would clear legal hurdles to arms trade with new nations. The Emerging Nations Defense (END) legislation is to be sponsored by Senator Gimme and Congressman Forhire.

- * The END would not only cement GD clients' legal status as nations, but also grant them Most Favored Nation trading status.
- * The END would establish a Fund for Emerging Nations' Defense (FEND), modeled after the U.S. Export-Import Bank, to loan nations money for purchase of U.S.-manufactured arms.
- * The END would transform nations' "turf" into "Enterprise Combat Zones," which would grant tax-free status to firms building an infrastructure (bunkers, airstrips, field hospitals, etc.) in affected urban areas.

2) **Media management.** In the absence of a sophisticated public-relations counter-campaign, the media have been allowed to "spin" nations' military activities negatively. GD has retained the firm of M. Bellish & Associates to emphasize the "up" side of military sales to these nations. Efforts under consideration include:

- * "American Nations, American Arms, American Jobs" TV spots, demonstrating how such arms purchases would mean continued employment for thousands of U.S. workers.
- * An anti-violence crusade entitled, "Let's Get the Killers off the Streets," stressing advantages of supplying nations with air-to-air combat jets.
- * "Operation Fight to Learn," a GD-sponsored school curriculum emphasizing math and science through such practical applications as missile mechanics.
- * Finally, a "Gang Peace Through Strength" campaign demonstrating how any lasting gang truce can come only through Mutually Assured Destruction.

By Miles Harvey